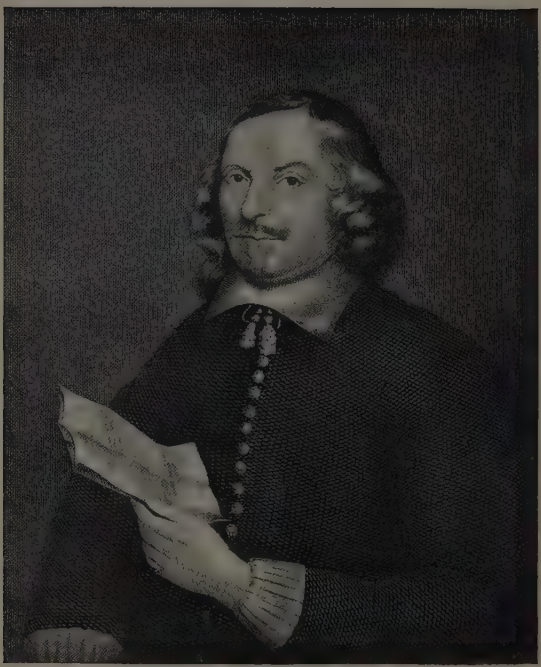
THE STORY OF THE PILGRIM FATHERS

E. ARBER

The Story of
The Pilgrim Fathers,
1606-1623 A.D.

PACIFIC



Edw. Winslow

Gardenwell Lib 17 June ell
1639

The Story of The Pilgrim Fathers,

1606-1623 A.D.;

as told by Themselves, their Friends, and their Enemies.

EDITED FROM THE ORIGINAL TEXTS,

BY

EDWARD ARBER, F.S.A.

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Above all things, Liberty.—J. SELDEN.

Religion stands on tip-toe in our land,
Ready to pass to the American strand.—G. HERBERT.

Our names,
Familiar in their mouths as household words.—W. SHAKESPEARE.

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THE PREFACE.

THE appearance, last year, by the kind assent of Doctor FREDERICK TEMPLE, then Bishop of LONDON and now Archbishop of CANTERBURY, of the noble photo-zincographic Facsimile of the once lost Bradford Manuscript, preserved at Fulham Palace, London, has naturally suggested that the Pilgrim Story should be again told —in a manner brief yet accurate; impartial yet sympathetic — in accordance with the authoritative statements of that Manuscript, and of other information that has come to light in recent years.

What a strange thing it is, that hitherto there does not exist any *adequate* account, scientifically written but popular in form, of the Pilgrim Fathers. And this, although there has already grown up around their noble efforts, a considerable literature, through the incessant efforts of American Scholars and Historical Societies: a literature that will no doubt continue to grow till the end of time.

Crammed as this volume is with information on the subject, most of it of paramount authority; it has not been found possible to bring the Pilgrim Story in it, to a later date than 1623. If that Story is to be continued, it must be in another similar volume; which would probably carry it on to the years 1628, or 1630.

What has been here attempted has been to select those facts which are material to the Story, and which are also absolutely, or morally, certain; to explode

whatever myths we may happen to have met with; and to give exact references for everything that is adduced. In one sense, it has been a resetting of old material; in another, the production of new facts. Our great desire has been, that there should be nothing in this Volume that the Reader may be hereafter compelled to unlearn; but that he may feel sure that, in respect to all its contents, that he is standing upon the solid rock of truth.

Although the Pilgrim Story must, after the appearance of this Volume, assume a somewhat different aspect from that which it has hitherto had; it has been rather heightened than diminished in interest. There are two sides to every question. The Writings of Governor BRADFORD, Governor WINSLOW, ROBERT CUSHMAN, &c., deeply interesting and authoritative as they are in regard to the inner life, the actual experiences, the hopes and fears, of the Pilgrim Church; yet are they, in their nature, nothing but *ex parte* statements. Neither do they cover the whole ground of the Story: so that they have to be partly checked, and partly added to, from the outside.

Hitherto these Writers have either not been read at all: or they have been read, as if they were so much Gospel; and that no other opinions varying from them were possible. Now it is quite certain that these Writers knew of a great many things that they did not feel called upon to put upon paper. They wrote—with transparent honesty be it said—on behalf of the Cause to which they had consecrated their lives. And then, having so successfully fought through "such a sea of troubles;" they had, to say the least, the assurance of their convictions: just as, so often, in private life, our

successful friends have *very* pronounced opinions; which we regard as the allowable play of character in such energetic natures.

Especially must Governor BRADFORD's good-natured and optimistic estimates of the Leaders of the English Separation in Holland—JOHNSON, CLYFTON and SMYTH—be considered as incomplete and misleading: for reasons which will be found later on in this book.

A cool-headed rectification of opinions has therefore been often necessary in this Volume.

The general Reader will find not a few notable facts in this Volume. Of these, the following may be here mentioned:

The story of the "Holy Discipline": and of its vanishing away.

The deliberate cruelty shown to the promoters of the "Holy Discipline," through the Bishops' Courts, by JOHN WHITGIFT, Archbishop of CANTERBURY; and RICHARD BANCROFT, Bishop of LONDON, in the days of Queen ELIZABETH.

The murderous statute of 1593, 35 *Eliz.* c. 1, intituled, *An Act to retain the Queen's subjects in obedience.*

The payments to WILLIAM BREWSTER, as Post Master of Scrooby, from January 1589 to 30 September 1607.

The identification of the Rev. JOHN SMYTH, the Se-Baptist, with the Rev. JOHN SMITH, Preacher of the city of Lincoln.

The Entries in ZACHARY CLIFTON's *Bible.*

The scandalous Ancient exiled English Church at Amsterdam.

MATTHEW SLADE's account of the burial of the Rev. FRANCIS JOHNSON at Amsterdam on 10/20 January 1617/1618: and of the publication by him there, a few days before his death, of a Recantation of his opinions, with a Refutation of the *Five Articles* [? of the Synod of Dort]; in a book which no modern scholar has ever seen, and which is now believed to be utterly lost.

The Story of the Pilgrim Press at Leyden, and of its suppression; together with the fullest List, yet published, of Books that may be assigned to it.

The fact that, for more than a year before he left Leyden in the

Speedwell, WILLIAM BREWSTER was a hunted man; hiding from the *utmost* efforts of the British Government to catch him. And that, had he been caught, so far from becoming *the* revered Ruling Elder of the New England States; he would probably have lain in prison till the Meeting of the Long Parliament, as his partner THOMAS BREWER did; if his imprisonment had not previously killed him.

The Seven Articles of 1617. *The Three Points* of 1618.

The various Negotiations of the Pilgrim Fathers, in regard to their Exodus to America, with (1) the London Virginia Company, (2) the Privy Council of England, (3) the Dutch, and (4) the Adventurers.

A reprint of two Journals describing the adventures of the Pilgrim Fathers during the first three years they were in New England.

The Statement of the Claims in respect of the robberies by the Frenchmen from the *Fortune* in 1622.

Evidence that Governor BRADFORD sent home an official despatch in that vessel: which was stolen, and is now possibly lost for ever.

But still more unexpected, both to the Editor and the Reader, is the definition of the ecclesiastical position of the Pilgrim Church as that of *The Church of England—once removed.* The evidence convincingly demonstrates the strong affection of that exiled Society to the Church of their fathers—the persecuting Bishops apart: an affection which only deepened as time went on, and experience of life increased. So that the Pilgrim Church stood then much nearer to the Anglican Church than JOHN WESLEY and his Community did in the last century. The villagers, that grouped themselves round the Rev. JOHN ROBINSON and WILLIAM BREWSTER, started at first on rigid lines: but as their continental life mellowed their experience, they became large-hearted and broad-souled; and came to look on their separation

from the English Church as their misfortune, and not as a thing to glory in.

Therefore, if the Church of England had existed then, as it exists to-day; the Pilgrim movement would have never come into existence at all. Was it not rather the STUART tyranny, working through the Church organization (as it did through all the other organizations of the State; and notably that of Justice), that created it.

In respect to such points as these, it may be necessary to say that we are absolutely impartial: having already edited some twenty thousand pages of letterpress, representing all sorts of opinions; some of them Roman Catholic, and the rest embracing all shades of Protestant thought. We have never yet edited any book for a purpose; and never will do so. We always start upon any investigation with a *tabula rasa*; and then just simply follow the evidence, wherever it may lead us.

Perhaps it may be as well to warn the young Reader at the outset, that the reproaches hurled, in this book, at the then new School of Protestant Thinkers, called Arminians or Remonstrants, are simply so much unadulterated ignorance and fanaticism.

Arminianism, with its vigorous assertion of the Freedom of the Human Will, was just the inevitable reaction, the swinging back of the mental pendulum, from the perfectly appalling doctrine of Divine Predestination of the rigid Calvinism, as set forth, for instance, in the nine *Lambeth Articles* of the 20th November 1595.

At the present day, the two theological Schools of Calvinism and Arminianism have representatives amongst the earnest Thinkers of most Protestant Communities. Each doctrine is, in its essence, true:

but it is beyond the power of Man to harmonize them. Which doctrine, therefore, one would adopt would probably depend upon one's bringing up, social environment, mental pace, attitude of mind, and so forth. Therefore the young Reader will come to regard controversies on these subjects as sheer waste of time. Let each man choose for himself.

But then it was a very wild time, an Age of ceaseless conflict all round. The human mind, awakening from the sleep of Feudalism and the Dark Ages, fastened on all the problems that are inherent to human society: problems which, even at the present day, are not half solved. In England, during that seventeenth century, men were digging down to the very roots of things. They were asking, What is the ultimate authority in human affairs? Upon what, does Government rest? and for what purpose, does it exist?

And this clash of opinions went on in all Branches of Human Knowledge alike: in Politics, in Science, and in Philosophy; as well as in Religion. And yet nobody thinks any the worse of Politics, Science, and Philosophy; because, in these first steps, so many mistakes, false starts, and abortive efforts were then made by them, as will be found as regards Religion in this volume. Advance through making mistakes seems to be the law of human progress.

The sharpest possible attention must be paid to the dates: for Chronology is the life of all historical studies. The thing to be certain about is the Day of the Week.

In the seventeenth century, the difference between the Old Style of reckoning time, and the New Style, was Ten days. Thus the eleventh day of the month

Old Style was the twenty-first day New Style. It was written, 11/21.

For instance, the Pilgrim Fathers landed at Plymouth in New England, on

11/21 December 1620, [*See page* 435.]

which fell upon a Monday: a date since called Forefathers' Day.

Another chronological point has also to be considered. The year was reckoned to begin on different days in different countries.

For instance, in Holland, in the seventeenth century, the year began on the 1st of January: but, in England, the legal year began on the 25th of March. So that the eighty-three days, between the 1st of January and the 24th of March, were regarded as belonging to what we should now consider as being the previous year.

For example, permission was granted by the Town Council of Leyden to the Pilgrim Fathers to come to that city,

"in their session at the Council House, the 12th day of February, 1609" [*See page* 148.]

That, according to the old English reckoning, was on 2 February 1608.

We combine the two Styles together in one formula, thus:

2/12 February 1608/1609

which fell upon a Thursday.

Now will be seen the importance of the Day of the Week. The two Styles must coincide on the same day.

Which Style was used, depended largely on the nationality of the Writer. The English Ambassador, and the Pilgrim Fathers, in Holland, generally dated their letters in the Old Style.

Another point about time, which may be useful to remember in the present Work, is that the *average* time that elapsed between the writing of a letter at the Hague or Leyden, and its receipt in London; or *vice versa*: may be put at nine or ten days. Sometimes the post occupied only five days; and sometimes, fifteen or sixteen. It all depended on the wind and the weather.

The money of that period must be multiplied by about four to represent its purchasing power: that is £1, or 5$, then would (roughly speaking) buy as much as £4, or 20$, would now. This is merely a rough approximate way of expressing the present diminished purchasing power of gold coin. Scientifically speaking, the ratio would vary with respect to each article bought: but as a general approximation, four times, or a little under that, may be fairly accepted as the ratio of increased value for the first half of the seventeenth century.

At this time of day, to hope to add anything absolutely new, to the sum of what is already known about the Pilgrim Fathers, is like hoping to find the Philosopher's Stone. The New England Scholars and Historical Societies, during the last hundred years, have so cleanly swept this field of history, that not even a single ear of wheat is to be hoped for. We ourselves had no such hope at all. Therefore the more do we rejoice in our good luck in finding the Statement of the Claims in respect of the robbery of the *Fortune* by the French in February 1622, which will be found at pages 506-508.

It is extraordinary to what a large extent we are dealing, in this volume, with what is practically a Lost Literature. *All* the English books printed in Holland

and Flanders before 1641 are rare: but those printed there for the Separatists, in order to be sold or distributed in England, are amongst the rarest of them all. One simple fact will be a sufficient illustration of this:

The British Museum does not possess, at this moment of writing, a single copy of the original editions of the seven books written by the Rev. JOHN SMYTH, the Se-Baptist; and which were printed for him between 1603 and 1613. Of how many other English Authors can it now be said, That, in their original editions, they are totally unrepresented in the great London Library?

Therefore we would here strenuously appeal to all the great Collectors and Libraries of the United States, especially to those in New England, that instant search should be made through their Collections, for all the English Separatist Works known. For this purpose, the bibliographical information contained in this volume and in Doctor H. MARTYN DEXTER'S *Congregationalism &c.*, will be found helpful. And, further, that the finds should be reported to, and recorded by, some central body, like the American Library Association. This is not a sectional Literature. It is that which surrounds the *ultimate* origin of the United States: and therefore the effort may be regarded as a national one.

Especially should a ceaseless hunt be made after all copies of Editions that can, with any probability, be assigned to the Pilgrim Press at Leyden.

Most of all, that the following two utterly lost books be sought for, without wearying.

GILES THORPE. *The Hunting of the Fox.* Part I.
? Printed by THORPE himself at Amsterdam, about 1610.

This is the lost scandalous chronicle of the Ancient exiled English Church in that city.

The death-bed Recantation of the Rev. FRANCIS JOHNSON. Printed at Amsterdam in [December] 1617.

The Title even of this book is not known; much less its contents.

And now we have to ask for the kind co-operation of our Readers. We desire to give a perfectly exact, though a modernized, text. Many of the words and idioms in it, have, naturally enough, in the nearly three hundred years that have since passed away, become obsolete, or have quite changed their meanings. In all such cases we have put the real meaning after them, thus:

admire [*wonder at.*]
betake [*entrust.*]
civil [*civilized.*]
civil [*secular.*]
condescend [*agree to.*]
estates [*properties.*]
indifferently [*impartially.*]
lawful [*morally right.* It does not usually mean *legal.*]
painful [*painstaking.*]
a passionate letter [a *suffering*, or *heart-broken* letter; as in the sense of *Passion* Week. It does not mean a letter written *in a rage.*]

In like manner, Indian Place Names are followed by their present English names: as, Massachusetts [*Boston Bay*], Namaschet [*Middleborough*], Nauset [*Eastham*], Patuxet [*Plymouth*], Wessagusset [*Weymouth*].

Again, some part of the text is confessedly very roughly written; sometimes, in what almost might be regarded as broken English.

As for this poor *Relation*, I pray you accept it, as being writ by the several Actors themselves, after their plain and rude manner: therefore doubt nothing of the truth thereof. If it be defective in anything, it is their ignorance; that are better acquainted with planting than writing. If it satisfy those that are well affected to the business; it is all I care for. *See page* 397.

Usually the imperfection of the style is by omitting words which were present to the mind of the Writer; but which he did not put down in writing. These lost, but necessary, words have been supplied between square brackets.

In these three ways, our Readers will have the advantage of a rigidly exact text, unavoidably containing many obsolete words and idioms; but which yet will be instantly understandable.

In many cases, the Foot Notes are of equal importance and authority with the text. In such cases, they are merely the printer's device to bring matter relating to the same topic into the closest possible juxtaposition. Other Foot Notes are simply explanatory.

All Foot Notes supplied by the present Editor, are followed by his initials—E. A.

Our grateful thanks are here tendered, for valuable guidance and help from Professor JUSTIN WINSOR, Librarian of Harvard University, Massachusetts. This gentleman, so well known as a veritable Rabbin of Bibliography, is also the greatest living authority upon the colonial history of New England.

In conclusion. This story belongs to the Universal Church of CHRIST. May it be especially helpful in uniting all true Protestant hearts, in the Old World as in the New, in the love, service, and worship of the ever-blessed Trinity!

EDWARD ARBER.

73 SHEPHERD'S BUSH ROAD,
WEST KENSINGTON,
LONDON, W.
15 JANUARY 1897.

TO OUR READERS IN BOTH HEMISPHERES.

THE Story of the Pilgrim Fathers divides itself into two parts: an ecclesiastical conflict in England and Holland; and a colonizing effort in New England. It is as hard to make the American understand the theological niceties of the first part; as it is to make the Englishman understand the geographical localities of the second.

If we would wish to do but bare and simple justice to the Pilgrim Fathers; we must strip ourselves of a great many ideas and opinions which, in our time, are the unquestioned and universal axioms of every day life and thought.

There is not one of us but lives under conditions in which Law is always, and under all circumstances, the supreme authority. We can hardly realize a condition of society in which Law itself was struggling for existence; in which everybody and everything was governed by the King's Will, and was subordinate and contributory to (O amazing words!) *the royal satisfaction.*

Yet it was under conditions such as these, that the Pilgrim movement originated, and fought its way onward. Let us endeavour, then, to go back in our thoughts to their Age and to their circumstances.

Doctor H. MARTYN DEXTER has done this for us, as regards the material things of life:

Ordinary average life, three centuries ago, was so different from life now, as to make it well-nigh impossible, even for the most diligent antiquary, adequately to comprehend, and describe, that difference.

When the *Fratres Angli in Belgia exulantes* began to change the date of their letters to FRANCIS JUNIUS from the Sixteenth to the Seventeenth Century, even the scholars of the great Universities were still uncertain whether COPERNICUS had fairly out-reasoned PTOLEMY in his theory of the solar system.

It was Fourteen years, before JOHN NAPIER of Merchiston, by the invention of logarithms, as LAPLACE said, by reducing to a few days the labour of months, *doubled the life* of all whose occasions lead them to abstruse mathematical calculations.

It is thought to have been Two and twenty years after that date, before England saw her first weekly newspaper.

It was Five and twenty, before hackney coaches began to be kept for hire in London.

It was Eight and twenty, before WILLIAM HARVEY published his discovery of the circulation of the blood.

It was Forty, before GASCOIGNE by his cross of fine wire in the focus of the telescope, raised it from a vaguely instructive curiosity to the dignity of an eye, accurate as well as far-seeing, to note celestial phenomena.

It was Eight and forty, before the Barometer became available to measure heights, and foretell storms.

It was Six and fifty, before HUYGHENS, applying the oscillating pendulum to the rude clock with vibrating balance, which had been in use for three or four hundred years, first gave to the world a measurer of time, "more accurate than the sun itself."

It was Four and sixty, before THOMAS WILLIS described the nerve centre; and showed that the brain is a congeries of organs, and the seat of moral and intellectual action.

It was Six and sixty, before NEWTON, sitting in his garden, was started upon that train of thought which, years after, led him on to the development of the Law of Universal Gravitation: "indisputably and incomparably the greatest scientific discovery ever made."

It was Two and seventy, before the same modest and marvellous intellect which had unravelled the problem of the celestial motions, discovered the key to the rainbow in the fact that light consists of rays of different colours and diverse refrangibility.

It was Three and seventy, before the first *Almanack* of the present character was published in England.

It was Five and seventy, before RÖMER, the Dane, discovered and measured the progressive motion of light.

It was One hundred and nine, before a daily paper was started in London.

It was One hundred and fourteen, before Doctor JOHN WOODWORD laid the foundation of the science of Geology, by demonstrating that the surface of the earth has an orderly stratification.

It was One hundred and twenty, before RÖMER devised the mercurial Thermometer; and introduced it to the Gentleman and the Farmer as well as the Scientist.

It was One hundred and thirty-three, before DUFAY made possible the science of electricity as it now exists.

It was One hundred and forty, before there was a Circulating Library in London.

It was One hundred and fifty-eight, before CRONSTEDT, of Sweden, published the elementary principles of the science of Mineralogy.

It was One hundred and sixty, before there was a street light in London.

It was One hundred and seventy-one, before RICHARD ARKWRIGHT was weaving cotton cloth at Cromford in Derbyshire, by means of spindles and looms driven by water.

It was One hundred and seventy-nine, before the steam-engine, in the form now commonly used for manufacture and traffic, was first devised.

It was One hundred and eighty-four, before HENRY CAVENDISH published, in the *Philosophical Transactions*, the proof that Water is a compound of Oxygen and Hydrogen gases.

It was One hundred and ninety-one, before LUIGI GALVANI announced the discoveries establishing that branch of science which bears his name.

It was Two hundred and thirteen, before London Bridge was lighted with gas.

It was Two hundred and nineteen, before the first ship, whose sails were aided by steam, crossed the Atlantic.

It was Two hundred and twenty-nine, before STEPHENSON'S "Rocket" led the panting and interminable succession of the locomotives of the nineteenth century.

It was Two hundred and thirty-nine, before LOUIS DAGUERRE

announced the possibility of almost instantaneously securing and rendering permanent the facsimile portrait of a face or of a scene.

It was Two hundred and forty, before the invention of prepayment by stamp, and the era of cheap postage.

It was Two hundred and forty-four, before the Telegraph was first practically used in the transmission of messages between distant points: Two hundred and fifty-eight, before the first telegram made its way from the Old World to the New under the Atlantic: Two hundred and seventy-seven, before the still more marvellous Telephone began to offer itself to reunite the separated, even by the hearing of the ear: and Two hundred and seventy-eight, before the Phonograph, most wonderful of all, offered itself to store up for reproduction—on the turning of a crank—whatsoever of talk, or song, may have been admitted to its mysterious confidence. *Congregationalism &c.*, pp. 683-686, Ed. 1880, 8.

Observations like these of Doctor DEXTER make us feel the great distance of time which separates us from the Pilgrim Fathers; whose lives we are about to study so closely: and they will also help us to avoid the folly of harshly judging the opinions of the beginning of the Seventeenth Century, from the standpoint of the ideas of the end of the Nineteenth; though, of course, Right and Wrong are eternal.

Then our thoughts must go back to an Age when the general drift of public affairs all over Europe was towards tyranny and oppression: a state of things which it is now very hard for us to realize.

Spain, under PHILIP III., had already become a consolidated and illimitable autocracy. France was on its way to that absolute royal despotism that enabled LOUIS XIV., later on, to say, "I am the State." FERDINAND II., Emperor of Germany, was carrying on the Thirty Years' War in order that he might suppress Protestantism in Germany, and the liberty with which it was associated. It is but the simple fact that, at the time the *Mayflower* was crossing the Atlantic, there were only two powerful free States in Europe, Great Britain and Holland. In nearly all the other countries, the Governments were doing nothing else

but ceaselessly striving, and with a marked success, to enslave the peoples committed to their care.

This had been much aided by the Counter-Reformation carried on by the Papal Curia, from the time of the Council of Trent onwards; by which the Roman Catholic Church had adapted itself to the new conditions of European life. Of that Counter-Reformation, with its two special developments of the Spanish Inquisition and of the Order of the Jesuits, the Reader will find an able description in *A Relation of the State of Religion &c.* London, 1605, 4. It was written by Sir EDWIN SANDYS; whom we shall meet with later on in this Story.

Indeed, so absolutely identified was the Roman Catholic Church of that Age, in the minds of most Englishmen, with all forms of political tyranny, that, later on, in the Massachusetts Colony, men were punished for saying, That it was a Christian Church: a proposition that no sane man now-a-days would for a moment deny. Let us then never forget that, at the back of all the Puritanism and Separatism of that Age, there ever lay the intensest hate of Roman Catholicism and of the tyranny with which it was then so thoroughly identified.

Such being the general state of European Affairs: in England, Absolutism—that is, That the King was above The Law—came in with the STUARTS. The seventeenth century passed away in one long fight between Englishmen and that dynasty, over the then perfectly new doctrines of

(1) The inherent Divine Right of Kings by blood or inheritance,

(2) The absolute unconditioned Passive Obedience of Subjects, and

(3) The unlawfulness of Resistance or Self-Defence in cases of oppression or violence, whether national or personal.

If we have not stated these monstrous opinions sufficiently

clearly: let us do so in the words of Doctor HUMPHREY GOWER, the Vice-Chancellor of the University of Cambridge, in 1681:

We still believe and maintain that our Kings derive not their Titles from the people; but from GOD. That to him *only* they are accountable. That it belongs not to subjects, either to create or censure; but to honour and obey, their Sovereign: who comes to be so by a fundamental hereditary Right of Succession; which no Religion, no Law, no Fault or Forfeiture, can alter or diminish.

CHARLES I., after having brought infinite evil upon his people, died a martyr for such principles as these. Among his last words upon the scaffold before the Banqueting Hall of Whitehall Palace, immediately before he was beheaded, were these:

For the people. And truly I desire their liberty and freedom as much as anybody whomsoever. But I must tell you, That their liberty and their freedom consists in having, of Government, those laws by which their life and their goods may be most their own. It is not for having share in Government, Sir. That is nothing pertaining to them. A Subject and a Sovereign are clean different things; and therefore until they do that, I mean, that you do put the people in that liberty, as I say; certainly they will never enjoy themselves. *King CHARLES his Speech &c.*, p. 6, London, [23 Feb.] 1649, 4. British Museum Press-mark, E. 545 (5).

The answer to that dying assertion is, That the English people had had a share in the national sovereignty long before the STUARTS, then only Norman Barons living near Oswestry in Shropshire, went to Scotland to seek their fortunes.

These pernicious political dogmas received their death-blow at the happy and glorious Revolution of 1688. Then was formulated what is known as the Whig doctrine of the Covenant between the King and the People; the King in his Coronation Oath, and the Subjects in their Oath of Allegiance. This meant that the Law was to be above the King; and that he held the throne by exactly the same authority as the subject held his house.

King WILLIAM III. and Queen MARY accepted the English

Crown on these conditions on 23rd February 1689. England had, however, to fight France for nearly a quarter of a century before this Whig doctrine could be regarded as an assured political fact. From the accession of GEORGE I. in 1714, however, it has never been questioned.

Now when we consider that this arduous vindication of the supremacy of Law amongst the English people, occurred many years after the Pilgrim Exodus from Leyden; we can the better realize the wild times in which they lived.

Then our thoughts must go back to a time when the Liberty of the Press simply did not exist in the British Isles.

Printing was then only possible in London, Edinburgh, and Dublin; and at the University Presses at Oxford and Cambridge: but it was chiefly carried on in London.

Even there, if a man were so rash as to buy type and a hand printing press; he would be immediately sent to prison for that offence. For no one in London was allowed to print anything unless he were a Freeman of the Company of Stationers: and even of those Freemen, only a certain few might *print* books; though all of them were allowed to sell or bind them.

There was a tradition amongst the London trade that, besides the King's Printers and other Patentees, there ought to be Twenty-two Printing Houses, and no more, in the Metropolis. But, for years together, there were not even so many as that. On 9th May 1615, there were nineteen of such Printing Houses in London; possessing thirty-three hand printing presses.

The Master Printers could not have as many hand printing presses as they would like. Everything was regulated and fettered. Each one, on his filling the previous vacancy, started with one; and, *as he rose in the Stationers' Company*, he might increase that number to two of such presses, and no more. Of the above nineteen Master Printers, the five junior

ones had only one press each; the fourteen senior ones had two each.

The London compositors then usually set up the books in type in their own houses; and took the "formes of type" to the residence of the Master Printer to be machined. The custody of the hand printing press there was regarded then as dangerous a thing as the custody of dynamite would be now. It was most carefully locked up every night, in order to prevent secret printing.

Regularly, every week, Searchers, appointed by the Stationers' Company, went through the house of each Master Printer, in order to see what books were at press, and whether they had been properly licensed.

By this organization, and under these conditions, were produced the books of the Golden Age of English Literature. The Reader will readily see how impossible it would be for anything that the King or the Bishops might choose to regard as obnoxious, to be printed in London. As a matter of fact, such books were printed on the Continent, as we shall see later on, in the case of WILLIAM BREWSTER; and smuggled into England.

The STUARTS had an instinctive jealousy of the power of a free Press; and, so far as in them lay, kept it under a strict supervision. Every Work, before it could be set up in type, had to be licensed by two persons:

(a.) By a Chaplain of the Archbishop of CANTERBURY, or of the Bishop of LONDON, for the time being: which two Prelates were more especially charged with the Censorship of the Press, up to the meeting of the Long Parliament in 1640. And this, not by force of any statute of the realm, as by a survival of that illimitable authority which formerly pertained to the Roman Catholic Bishops of England as "guardians of faith and morals."

(b.) By one of the two Wardens of the Company of Stationers of London.

On being licensed, the Work was usually entered in the Registers at Stationers' Hall, London; the entries of which, beginning about 1553, continue, with one or two breaks, down to the present day. Of the entries in these Registers between 1553 and 1640; we have privately printed a *Transcript*, in five quarto volumes, containing about 3,200 pages.

Such then being the genesis of an English book in the days of the Pilgrim Fathers, one can see what a one-sided struggle they had to carry on. The Bishops could freely allow anything to be printed that made for their Order: but nobody in his senses could expect them to allow for the press anything that challenged the divine right of the Hierarchy; or that attacked the iniquities and illegalities of the Bishops' Courts, as they existed up to the time that the Long Parliament swept them all away.

So the Rev. RICHARD BAXTER tells that the Puritan and Separatist treatises were, in his early days, very hard to be met with; and were secretly read and passed from hand to hand: and, being prohibited, they were the more eagerly sought after.

The chiefly colonial story that we have to tell in this volume, represents but a part of the life of the English nation during this period. For their ceaseless and strenuous home struggles against the STUART Kings; we would refer the Reader to JOHN FORSTER's *Sir JOHN ELLIOT*, 1592—1632. *A Biography*. 2 Vols., 1872, 8; and also to Doctor SAMUEL R. GARDINER's splendid *History of England*, 1603—1642. 10 Vols., 1884, 8.

Some day the Pilgrim Story will become the subject of a Poet's Song; of which, perhaps, this volume may be a Ground Work. It contains every possible dramatic element: nobleness and baseness, bravery and cowardice, purity and

impurity of life, manhood and hypocrisy, gentleness and wrongheadedness. We very much fear, however, that (though Dramatic Poesy is the highest form of human expression) if that Song shapes itself into a Drama; the Pilgrim Fathers will turn in their graves.

So we conclude here by quoting that wondrous passage penned by MILTON in 1641, in which he defines the office of a Christian Poet: a passage that has oftentimes been present to us during the preparation of this volume, because it so aptly expresses the faith and aims of the Pilgrim Fathers.

These abilities, wheresoever they be found, are the inspired gift of GOD; rarely bestowed, but yet to some (though most abuse) in every nation: and are of power, beside[s] the office of a Pulpit, to inbreed and cherish in a great people the seeds of virtue and public civility; to allay the perturbations of the mind, and set the affections in right tune; to celebrate, in glorious and lofty Hymns the throne and equipage of GOD's almightiness; and what He works, and what He suffers to be wrought with high Providence in his Church; to sing the victorious agonies of Martyrs and Saints, the deeds and triumphs of just and pious nations doing valiantly through faith against the enemies of CHRIST; to deplore the general relapses of Kingdoms and States from justice and GOD's true Worship.

Lastly, whatsoever in Religion is holy and sublime; in Virtue, amiable or grave: whatsoever hath passion [*suffering*] or admiration [*wonderment*] in all the changes of that which is called Fortune, from without; or the wily subtleties and refluxes of Man's thoughts, from within: all these things, with a solid and treatable smoothness, to paint out and describe.

Teaching over the whole book, of sanctity and virtue, through all the instances of examples, with such delight that the paths of honesty and good life would then appear to all men, both easy and pleasant. *The Reason of Church Government &c.*, p. 39.

INTRODUCTION.

WE have now briefly to consider the ecclesiastical condition of England; out of which the Pilgrim Church sprang.

The first thing that we have to recognize is, That from the Reformation onwards, England, as the only first-rate Protestant Kingdom in Europe, was in a condition of constant and imminent peril. Spain, by means of its large population in Europe; its annual fleets of gold from the West Indies; and, later on, its annual fleets of spices (more precious than gold) from Goa and Cochin; had become the Colossus of Europe. As Sir THOMAS OVERBURY tells us, in his *Observations &c.*, written in 1609, the Hope of the Western Monarchy was the daily dream of the Spanish Kings: and as matters then stood, if they could only but become masters of the harbours of Flanders, Holland, and England, they would then become the Lords of the civilized World. No one, therefore, knows anything of our history during the reign of ELIZABETH, unless he adequately realizes the deep sense of national peril that ever lay behind the ceaseless efforts of English Statesmen.

For whatever they might do, or not do, PHILIP II. was unhalting in his ambition; and so became a perpetual danger to Europe. *Non sufficit orbis* was the badge of his ambition: and "Time and I against the World" was the motto of his policy.

And so, the more we know of that Age, the more important does the Defeat of the Spanish Armada appear. It was one of the three crushing victories wherewith England has altered for the better, the history of modern Europe: the Defeat of the Armada, the Battle of Blenheim, and the Battle of Waterloo.

For there was always this about fighting the Spaniards, that they never gave in. It was like fighting Eternity. You might beat them, and plunder them to your heart's content; but that did not stop the War: for fighting was the normal occupation of the Spanish Gentleman. All this had been foreseen by Queen ELIZABETH and her Advisers from the very first. One hardly knows whether to admire more the Thirty years of Diplomacy, 1558—1588, which staved off the evil day: or the splendid deeds of that Fifteen years of War, 1588—1603, the history of which no man has yet written; which conflict only came to an end through the death of the brave-hearted Queen and the consequent change of dynasty.

The extremity of the national peril did indeed pass away when the Scottish Queen had been beheaded, and the Armada had been virtually destroyed: but England had still to hold her own, under the Divine Providence, by the strength of her right arm.

Professor FROUDE tells us in his *History of England*, X., p. 325, Ed. 1860, 8, that down to the defeat of the Armada, three-fourths of the English nation, that is, about 3,600,000 out of about 4,800,000, were Roman Catholics. Political affairs were then managed by the vigorous one-fourth minority; who lived chiefly in London, Bristol, Oxford, Cambridge, and other places in the south of England.

Queen ELIZABETH had nothing of the Puritan in her. She was a nationalist. Professor FROUDE thus describes her:

> She was free of access to her presence, quick-witted, and familiar of speech with men of all degrees. She rode, shot, jested, and drank beer; spat, and swore upon occasions—swore not like "a comfit-maker's wife"; but round mouth-filling oaths which would have satisfied HOTSPUR—the human character showing always through the royal robes; yet with the queenly dignity never so impaired that liberties could be ventured in return. . . .
>
> In her birth, she was the symbol of the revolt from the Papacy.

She could not reconcile herself with Rome without condemning the marriage from which she sprang; but her interest in Protestantism was limited to political independence. She mocked at CECIL and "his brothers in CHRIST." She affected an interest in the new doctrines, only when the Scots or the Dutch were necessary to her; or when religion could serve as an excuse to escape an unwelcome marriage. When the Spanish Ambassador complained [in June 1578] of the persecution of the Catholics: she answered, That no Catholic had suffered anything who acknowledged her as his lawful Sovereign; and that, in spiritual matters, she believed as they did. . . .

She would permit no authority in England which did not centre in herself. The Church should be a Department of the State, organised by Parliament, and ruled by the national tribunals. . . . There should be no conventicles and no chapels, to be nurseries of sedition. *History of England*, Chapter LX., Vol. X., pp. 317, 323-4, Ed. 1860, 8.

The Queen had daily before her eyes, as a political object lesson, the hopeless division and prostration of France: through the Civil Wars between the Huguenots on the one side; and the House of Guise, followed by the Holy League, on the other. Therefore she was not going to allow the Puritans and Separatists, however staunch and loyal they might be to her personally, to dismember and exhaust England as the Huguenots had done France, even though they did not form more than one-fifteenth of the French population.

Had she not also seen the Netherlands split up into Protestant Holland and Roman Catholic Flanders, simply on the score of religion?

She would keep England undivided and strong. She therefore stiffly denied to the lower clergy and to the laity any right of initiation in religious matters whatsoever. She suspended Archbishop EDMUND GRINDAL, SPENSER'S ALGRIND, because he sympathised with "Prophesyings." She purposely chose elderly men, whose ideas had been formed in her sister's reign, for her Bishops. We seem to trace a distinctly uniform policy as to Church Government all through her reign. Can we say that she was wrong? Was not the stability of

England, beset on so many sides with enemies, worth the "Holy Discipline" twenty times over?

The Anglican Church first split into two Schools of Thinkers, amongst the English exiles at Frankfort on the Main in 1555; as is described in *A Brief Discourse of the Troubles begun at Frankfort in Germany &c.*, 1575, 4: a Work that is usually attributed to WILLIAM WHITTINGHAM, Dean of Durham; and which is certainly worthy of a new edition.

On Queen MARY's death, the exiles hastened home: and soon after, we have in England the distinctions of Protestants, and of Puritans or Precisians. Later, we have the three P's:—Protestants, Puritans, and Papists. Later still, we have Conformists and Reformists.

In that most worthy man, Archbishop MATTHEW PARKER, Queen ELIZABETH had a most excellent adviser in those early, and most perilous, years of her reign.

The *Act of Supremacy* and the *Act of Uniformity* were passed in 1559; but not strictly enforced at first. By 1565, PARKER felt strong enough to enforce, by his *Advertisements &c.*, the use of the surplice in Divine Worship: whereupon there arose what is known as the "Ministering Apparel Controversy" of 1566.

By 1571, the Puritans had developed their ideas as to Ecclesiastical Polity; and they published a book called *An Admonition to the Parliament* of that year: which led to the literary conflict in 1572 that is known as "The Admonition to the Parliament Controversy."

In this long struggle, the leaders of the opposite sides were THOMAS CARTWRIGHT and Archbishop JOHN WHITGIFT: who had, at one time, been Fellows together at the same table at Trinity College, Cambridge.

As the first English Presbytery also met at Wandsworth in Surrey, on the 20th November 1572; we must consider that year as the date of the birth of the craze of the "Holy Discipline."

Let us see what this "Holy Discipline" was, for which men so readily suffered imprisonment, and even gave up their lives; and for which they even more readily affirmed a special Divine command, and a perpetual duration: but which vanished away from off the face of the earth within two generations of its birth, and has not left a trace behind.

The English Reformation, by the time of Queen ELIZABETH, had secured to her Protestant subjects, the Right of Private Judgment, and the freest access to the *Bible* as the only rule of faith and practice.

Many earnest seekers went to the Scriptures, and found there, two things:

I. In the *Old Testament*, the rigid and elaborate organization of the Mosaic Law and Worship: which lasted some fifteen hundred years, until the destruction of Jerusalem by Emperor TITUS.

II. And then came the snare to their understandings, to find the counterpart of this, in the Christian Economy. The Church must have some kind of organization: could not they excogitate a parallel one by the application of private judgment, reason, and logic to the *New Testament*? They found very little to go upon; only the three following passages of Scripture, which we give exactly in the three principal English versions:

GENEVA VERSION. 1560 A.D.	AUTHORISED VERSION. 1611 A.D.	REVISED VERSION. 1881 A.D.
	1 Corinthians xii. 28.	
And GOD hath ordeined some in the Church: *as* first Apostles, secondly Prophets, thirdly teachers, then them that doe miracles: after that, the giftes of healing, helpers,* gouernours,† diuersitie of tongues.	And GOD hath set some in the church, first apostles, secondarily prophets, thirdly teachers, after that miracles, then gifts of healings, helps,* governments, diversities of tongues.	And GOD hath set some in the church, first apostles, secondly prophets, thirdly teachers, then miracles, then gifts of healings, helps, governments,* *divers* kinds of tongues.
SIDE NOTES.		SIDE NOTE.
* *The offices of Deacons.* † *He setteth forth the order of Elders, which were the mainteiners of the Churches discipline.*		* Or, *wise counsels.*

Geneva Version. 1560 A.D.	Authorised Version 1611 A.D.	Revised Version. 1881 A.D.
	1 Timothy v. 17.	
The Elders that rule well, let them be had in double honour,* specially they which labour in the worde and doctrine.	Let the elders that rule well be counted worthy of double honour, especially they who labour in the word and doctrine.	Let the elders that rule well be counted worthy of double honour, especially those who labour in the word and in teaching.
Side Note.		
* *There were two kindes of Elders, the one attended upon the gouernement onely, and looked to the manners of the Congregation; the other did, beside that, attend upon preaching and prayers, to and for the Congregation.*		
	Romans xii. 6-8.	
* Seeing then that we haue gifts that are diuers, according to the grace that is giuen vnto us, whether *we haue* prophecie, *let vs prophecie* according to the portion of faith: or an office, *let us waite* on the office: or he that teacheth, on teaching: or he that exhorteth, on exhortation: he that distributeth, *let him do it* with simplicitie: he that ruleth, with diligence: he that sheweth mercie, with cheerfulnesse.	Having then gifts differing according to the grace that is given to us, whether prophecy, *let us prophesy* according to the proportion of faith; or ministry, *let us wait* on *our* ministering: or he that teacheth, on teaching; or he that exhorteth, on exhortation: he that giveth, *let him do it* with simplicity; he that ruleth, with diligence; he that sheweth mercy, with cheerfulness.	And having gifts differing according to the grace that was given to us, whether prophecy, *let us prophesy* according to the proportion of our faith; or ministry, *let us give ourselves* to our ministry; or he that teacheth, to his teaching; or he that exhorteth, to his exhorting: he that giveth, *let him do it* with liberality; he that ruleth, with diligence; he that sheweth mercy, with cheerfulness.
Side Note.		
* *And he deuideth them into two sortes, to wit, into Prophets and Deacons: and againe he diuideth the Prophets into Doctours, and Pastours. And of Deacons he maketh three sortes: to wit, the one to be such as are (as it were) treasurers of the Church Cofers, whome he calleth properly Deacons: the other to be the gouernours of discipline, who are called Seniours or Elders: the third, to be such as properly serued in the helpe of the poore, of which sort the companie of widowes were.*		

Upon the Geneva Version of the above three passages; and more especially on its unauthorized Side Notes, was built up the "Holy Discipline" with its considerable array of Church Officers: Pastors, Doctors or Teachers, Ruling Elders, Prophets, Deacons, and Widows or Helpers or Deaconesses.

This organization was a kind of exaggerated Presbyterianism. Its full nature may be studied in the three following books:

[Walter Travers.] *A full and plain Declaration of Ecclesiastical Discipline out of the Word of GOD; and of the declining of the Church of England from the same.* 1574, 4.

A Demonstration of the truth of that Discipline which Christ hath prescribed in his Word for the government of his Church in all times and places until the end of the world.

This Work was secretly printed at the Martinist Press at East Molesey, in Surrey, in July 1588. For writing it, the Author, the Rev. John Udall, lingered to death in prison, through the savage secular power of the Bishops.

Richard Hooker. *The Laws of Ecclesiastical Polity.* 1594—1618, fol.

And so, for years together, the conflict went on between the Eldership and Episcopacy. The Eldership was based, to some extent, upon popular election and choice. In theory, at any rate, it was government from below: government "of the people, by the people, and for the people." As regards Episcopacy, the Bishops were appointed at the King's choice, and were as much Officers of State as the Sheriffs. They held their lands by feudal tenure. It was government from above; and dependent solely on the royal will and pleasure.

Both systems had a good many purely human inventions in them. The Puritan might ask the Protestant, Where do you find Rural Dean, Archdeacon, Chancellor, or Archbishop in the *Bible*? The Protestant might equally well retort, Where do you find Presbytery, Classis, Synod, General Assembly, and Moderator in the *Bible*? Of course, all these were merely human arrangements consecrated to Divine purposes; and were sheer necessities in any large and widely spread organization. But then, there was the constant endeavour to claim for every part, and every portion, of each Ecclesiastical Polity an immediate and positive Divine instruction.

Such then, in brief, was the "Holy Discipline": a thing now so dead, that but few men know anything about it. It had two great weaknesses:

(1) That it was so pivoted upon the Eldership, that if an

Elder went wrong (as we shall see, later on, DANIEL STUDLEY did), the system had no remedy. "Who was to watch the Watchers?"

(2) The question that any practical Man of the World would put was, How could it possibly be financed? Each isolated voluntary association, fluctuating from month to month in numbers, was to pay three Officers—the Pastor, the Teacher, and the Ruling Elder: all of whom, being family men, must have enough to keep them and their families in decent respectability.

The Pilgrim Church never prided itself upon its ecclesiastical organization; which was, all through, of a most make-shift description.

When it started at Scrooby, it seems to have had the Rev. RICHARD CLYFTON for Pastor; and the Rev. JOHN ROBINSON, when he came North, acted as Assistant or Teacher; with probably one or more Deacons.

When it removed from Amsterdam to Leyden, and CLYFTON deserted that Church, about April 1609; the Rev. JOHN ROBINSON was the only Officer, besides the Deacon or Deacons, for a considerable time.

Then, at Leyden, at some date not later than 1613, WILLIAM BREWSTER was elected Ruling Elder.

All the arrangements seem to have been dictated by their practical necessities; and not according to the "Holy Discipline," or any other, theory. They never had for their Officers, either Prophets, or Widows.

As time went on, they rather leaned to the organization of the French Reformed Churches; as will appear from their *Three Points* of 1618, see p. 293-296.

Later still, the migration to America split the Church into two sections. After ROBINSON's death, the Leyden section had no Minister at all, until it went across the seas to join the Old Colony: and if the Plymouth Church had one characteristic more than another, it was That it was

essentially a Church of Laymen; and, in that respect, it anticipated the Quakers. At any rate, as long as Governor BRADFORD lived; no Minister even dared to aspire to lead them, as JOHN ROBINSON had done at Amsterdam and Leyden. So it was ever a question of Men, and not of Methods: and therefore as an example of a perfect ecclesiastical organisation, the Pilgrim Church is simply nowhere.

It had also these other two characteristics:

That, within the limits of the Old Colony, it was a National Church; for it embraced the whole community.

And also, That, for many a long day to come, it would no more suffer Dissent from its organisation and methods, within those limits; than JAMES I. did from his organisation and methods, within his three Kingdoms. History repeats itself.

Before we pass away from this subject, we may just touch upon one other point.

There were great discussions among the Separatists as to the meaning of the following passage:

GENEVA VERSION. 1560 A.D.	AUTHORISED VERSION. 1611 A.D.	REVISED VERSION 1881 A.D.
	Matthew xviii. 17.	
And if hee refuse to heare them, tell it vnto the Church.*	And if he shall neglect to hear them, tell *it* unto the church.	And if he refuse to hear them, tell it unto the church.*

SIDE NOTE.

* *He speaketh not of any kinde of policie, but of an ecclesiasticall assemblie, for he speaketh afterwarde of the power of loosing and binding, which belonged to the Church, and hee hath regard to the order used in those dayes, at what time the Elders had the iudgment of Church matters in their hands, John* ix. 12, *and* xii. 42, *and* xvi. 2, *and used casting out of the Synagogue for a punishment, as we doe now excommunication.*

SIDE NOTE.

* Or, *congregation.*

Will it be believed that, after the many vicissitudes which the Ancient exiled English Church had passed through since it originated in London in September 1592, and settled at

Amsterdam five years later, that that Community was rent asunder on 15/25 December 1610, upon a speculative point like this? The Rev. FRANCIS JOHNSON, the Rev. RICHARD CLYFTON, DANIEL STUDLEY, and others held that the word *Church* here meant only the Eldership: maintaining what is known as the Barrowist view of Ecclesiastical Polity, from HENRY BARROW. The Rev. HENRY AINSWORTH, JEAN DE L'ECLUSE, GILES THORPE, and others held that it meant *all* the members of the society: maintaining what is known as the Brownist view of ecclesiastical polity, from ROBERT BROWNE. And so these late friends, about a point like this, mutually delivered one another over to Satan, which was then the formula of Excommunication; and became known to each other, in derision, as the Franciscans and the Ainsworthians.

It would seem that in this, the Rev. FRANCIS JOHNSON made a grab for more power. What a strange fascination spiritual power has for some men! At any rate, he was bitterly punished during those last seven years that remained to him in this life. We do not know the details of the disastrous career of his Church after it left Amsterdam for Emden about 1613; but this split seems to have reduced not a few of them to beggary. And then, at last, to return to Amsterdam, only to recant his opinions and die! What a miserable fiasco was it all!

Such being the clash of opinions and the vanity of knowledge among men who were earnestly striving to be good; let us now consider the secular power which the Bishops put forth for their suppression.

This secular power was not based on statue law. Indeed, it was, many times, a flagrant defiance of it. It rested chiefly on the undefined royal prerogative.

JOHN WHITGIFT owed his Primacy in 1583, very largely to the vigorous manner in which he had fought, in his books, THOMAS CARTWRIGHT and the "Holy Discipline." Upon his becoming Archbishop, he fully determined, *coute qui coute*, to stamp out not only Separatism or the "Holy Discipline"

without the Church; but likewise Puritanism within it: but the more he persecuted them, the more they both grew. Englishmen have never yet been slaves.

Let us see what a Bishop could do in his capacity as "Ordinary of the diocese." He could call any man or woman before him, and question them: and, from their answers, condemn them out of their own mouth, without the least confirmatory evidence; and then send them to prison, for mere points of religious belief. This was by virtue of the Oath *ex Officio*; which was the forerunner of the even more notorious *Etcetera* Oath of 1640.

If the man or woman refused to answer; after reviling them, he would send them to prison for that refusal.

In either case, they remained in prison as long as the Bishop chose. The *Habeas Corpus* Writ had not yet been invented. The lawyers might say that the procedure of the Bishops' Courts were illegal: but what did it matter what they said? All that a lawyer could say, was based on Law: and Law itself was struggling for existence. When it made for the Sovereign, it was enforced; when it made against him, it was put aside.

The result of all this was, that the prisons of London were crammed with good Christians; who, according to modern ideas, were perfectly innocent of any crime. No wonder the Bishops were hated, for this use of their secular power.

In 1588 — 1589, JOHN PENRY and JOB THROGMORTON tried to reach at the Bishops, by secretly printing, at the wandering Martinist Press, scoffing and mocking pamphlets against them, supposed to be written by a mock-Archbishop, MARTIN MAR-PRELATE. These derisive Marprelate Tracts circulated rapidly all over England. But the only result of this literary revolt from ecclesiastical tyranny, was the punishment, in February 1590, of all concerned in their production. Of this Controversy, we have given an account in our *Introduction* to it, published in 1879.

WHITGIFT, after the utmost use for ten years of the far-reaching powers of the Ecclesiastical Courts, was still not satisfied. He had not yet cowed religious Englishmen.

In 1593, Parliament sat from the 19th February to the 12th April; and in that time passed the most disgraceful Act of Queen ELIZABETH's reign, 35 *Eliz.* c. 1.

Our Readers will remember the brilliant story in the sixty-ninth Chapter of Professor FROUDE's *History*, of the itinerant barrel of beer at Chartley Manor House in 1587, which carried in, and out, the correspondence of MARY Queen of SCOTS, in relation to the Babington Conspiracy, that brought her to the block. This correspondence was all deciphered by Sir FRANCIS WALSINGHAM's Secretary, whose name Professor FROUDE gives as PHILLIPPS; but who is known in the State Papers as THOMAS PHELIPPES, *alias* MORICE, the Decipherer: "a spare, pock-marked, impassive, red-haired man," as the Professor describes him.

In reward for his various services, the Government made PHELIPPES, the Collector of Customs for Cloth within the Port of London: but, though he held that appointment, he was constantly engaged in disseminating or obtaining information.

We now give portions of two letters written by this man.

THOMAS PHELIPPES TO WILLIAM STERRELL.
[?9] APRIL 1593.

Sir. The Parliament is to end this week. [*It did end on 12th April.*]

The Bill preferred in the Upper House against Catholics, which you mentioned in your last, is passed both Houses, with some amendment. The point is, That they are tied to remain at their dwellings: if they do [not], to be banished the realm. The other Bill, passed in the Nether House, was thought so extreme, as it is suppressed.

There was a Bill preferred against the Barrowists and Brownists, making it felony to maintain any opinions against the Ecclesiastical Government; which, by the Bishops' means, did pass the Upper

House: but was found [*on 5th April* 1593] so captious by the Nether House, as it was thought it would never have passed in any sort; afor that it was thought all the Puritans would have been drawn within the compass thereof.

Yet, by the earnest labouring of those that sought to satisfy the Bishops' humours, it is passed: to this effect. That whosoever shall be an obstinate Recusant [*i.e.* strictly speaking, *a Rejecter of an accepted opinion*], refusing to come to any Church; and do deny the Queen to have any power or authority in Ecclesiastical Causes; and do by writing, or otherwise, publish the same; and be a keeper [*frequenter*] of conventicles also: being convicted, he shall abjure [*renounce*, or *give up*] the realm within three months, and lose all his goods and lands. If he return without licence, it shall be felony.

Thus have they minced it, as is thought, so as it will not reach to any man that shall deserve favour; in a concurrence of so many faults and actions.

The week before [on 31st March], upon the late conventicle you wrote of last, BARROW and GOODMAN [*or rather* GREENWOOD], with some others, were indicted, arraigned, and condemned, upon the statute [23 *Eliz.*, c. 2] of writing and publishing seditious books; and should have been executed: but, as they were ready to be trussed up [*i.e. tied by the necks to the tree*], were reprieved.

But the day after [6th April] the Lower House had shewed their dislike of this Bill, were, early in the morning, hanged.

It is said, The reprieval proceeded of a *Supplication* made to the Lord Treasurer [WILLIAM CECIL, Lord BURLEGH], complaining *That, in a land where no Papist was touched for religion by death, their blood* [of those] *concurring in opinion, touching faith, with that* [*which*] *was professed in the country, should be first shed: desiring therefore conference, to be removed from their errors by reason; or else further satisfaction of* [justification to] *the World touching their opinions.*

Which was communicated by him to [JOHN WHITGIFT,] the Archbishop of CANTERBURY, who nevertheless was very peremptory; so as the Lord Treasurer gave him and [RICHARD FLETCHER] Bishop of WORCESTER, some round taxing words: and used some speech to the Queen; but was not seconded by any [of the Privy Council], which hath made him more remiss, as is thought.

It is plainly said, That their execution preceeded of [the]

malice of the Bishops, to spite the Nether House; which hath procured them much hatred of the common people affected that way. *S. P. Dom. Eliz.*, Vol. 244, No. 124.

THOMAS PHELIPPES to WILLIAM STERRELL.
12/22 JUNE 1593.

PENRY, the son [*i.e. an author of*] of MARTIN MARPRELATE, was hanged lately [on 29th May], as two of the principal Brownists BARROW and GREENWOOD were before; so as that Sect is in effect extinguished. *S. P. Dom. Eliz.*, Vol. 245, No 30.

Our space allows us to give in full, only the first Section of the murderous *Act to retain the Queen's subjects in obedience*, 35 *Eliz.* c. 1; a statute worthy to be put by the side of that legal disgrace of HENRY VIII.'s reign, the *Act of the Six Articles* of 1539: and the infamy of it must be shared by all the Bench of Bishops in that Parliament of 1593.

For the preventing and avoiding of such great inconveniences and perils as might happen and grow by the wicked and dangerous practices of seditious Sectaries and disloyal persons; Be it enacted by the Queen's most excellent Majesty, and by the Lords Spiritual and Temporal in this present Parliament assembled, and by the authority of the same:

That if any person or persons, above the age of sixteen years, which shall obstinately refuse to repair to some Church Chapel or usual place of Common Prayer, to hear Divine Service, established by Her Majesty's laws and statutes in that behalf made; and shall forbear to do the same by the space of a month next after, without lawful cause: [Or] shall, at any time after forty days next after the end of this Session of Parliament [*i.e. from 23rd May* 1593], by printing, writing, or express words or speeches, advisedly and purposely practice; or go about to move or persuade any of Her Majesty's subjects, or any others within Her Highness's realms or dominions, to deny withstand and impugn Her Majesty's power and authority in Causes Ecclesiastical united and annexed to the imperial crown of this realm: Or to that end or purpose, shall advisedly and maliciously move or persuade any other person whatsoever to forbear or abstain from coming

to Church to hear Divine Service; or to receive the Communion, according to Her Majesty's laws and statutes aforesaid: Or to come to, or to be present at, any unlawful assemblies conventicles or meetings, under colour or pretence of any Exercise of Religion; contrary to Her Majesty's said laws and statutes: Or if any person or persons which shall obstinately refuse to repair to some Church Chapel or usual place of Common Prayer, and shall forbear, by the space of a month, to hear Divine Service as is aforesaid; shall, after the said forty days, either of him and themselves, or by the motion, persuasion, inticement, or allurement, of any others, willingly join, or be present at, any such assemblies conventicles or meetings, under colour or pretence of any such exercise of religion, contrary to the laws and statutes of this realm, as is aforesaid—

That then every such person so offending as aforesaid, and being thereof lawfully convicted, shall be committed to prison: there to remain, without bail or mainprise, until they shall conform and yield themselves to come to some Church Chapel or usual place of Common Prayer, and hear Divine Service, according to Her Majesty's laws and statutes aforesaid; and to make such open submission and declaration of their said conformity as hereafter in this *Act* is declared and appointed. *The Statutes of the Realm*, Vol. IV., Part II., p. 841, 1819, fol.

The second Section provides that Offenders convicted, not conforming and submitting within three months shall abjure the realm: and refusing to do so, or returning to the realm, shall be deemed Felons; and shall suffer [*die*], as in the case of Felony, without benefit of Clergy.

It was also provided "And this *Act* to continue no longer than to the end of the next Session of Parliament"; which befell on 9th February 1598, 40 *Eliz.* So from 23rd May 1593 till 9th February 1598, this *Act* was the law of the land.

We are not able either to prove, or to disprove, the following statements of Governor BRADFORD:

First, from Master PHILLIPS. A famous and godly Preacher, having heard and seen Master BARROW's speeches and preparations for death, said, "BARROW, BARROW, my soul be with thine!"

The same author also reports, That Queen ELIZABETH asked learned Doctor [JOHN] RAINOLDS, What he thought of those two men, Master BARROW and Master GREENWOOD?

And he answered Her Majesty, That it could not avail anything to show his judgement concerning them, seeing they were put to death.

And being loath to speak his mind further; Her Majesty charged him, upon his allegiance, to speak.

Whereupon he answered, That he was persuaded, if they had lived, they would have been two as worthy Instruments for the Church of GOD as have been raised up in this Age.

Her Majesty sighed, and said no more.

But, after that, riding to a park by the place where they were executed; and, being willing to take further information concerning them, demanded of the Right Honourable [GEORGE CLIFFORD, third] Earl of CUMBERLAND, that was present when they suffered, What end they made?

He answered, "A very godly end; and prayed for your Majesty, and the State, &c."

We may also add, what some of us have heard, by credible information, That the Queen demanded of the Archbishop [JOHN WHITGIFT], What he thought of them in his conscience?

He answered, He thought they were the servants of GOD; but dangerous to the State.

"Alas!" said she, "shall we put the servants of GOD to death!"

And this was the true cause why no more of them were put to death in her days.

First Dialogue &c. [Written about 1648.] Printed in A. YOUNG's *Chronicles &c.*, pp. 431-433, Ed. 1841, 8.

The Reader can now sufficiently appreciate the active, powerful, and deadly hostility that the Churches at Scrooby and Gainsborough, about the year 1606, deliberately faced when they "as the LORD's free people, joined themselves, by a Covenant of the LORD, into a Church Estate, in the fellowship of the Gospel, to walk in all his ways made known, or to be made known, unto them, according to their best endeavours; whatsoever it should cost them, the LORD assisting them."

Outside names have often been accepted by those at whom they have been flung; and thereby been made honourable. Instances of this in religious history are not infrequent. "And the disciples were called Christians first in Antioch." Those who, in the time of the Commonwealth, shook in their divine worship, were called the Quakers. JOHN WESLEY and his associates at Oxford, were called the Methodists. In politics likewise, reproachful names such as Whig and Tory, have been subsequently adopted as party badges.

In the time of our Story, the word Brownist was flung at everybody that went out of the English Church; quite regardless as to whether they had accepted the views of ROBERT BROWNE or not. So the Ancient exiled Church and the Gainsborough Church, that had little or nothing in common with BROWNE, were constantly called Brownists.

So likewise was the Pilgrim Church: although ROBINSON in his Farewell Discourse to the *Mayflower* Pilgrims in July 1620, at page 183, distinctly rejected, as his ecclesiastical Leader one whom he regarded as a renegade; and of whom, ten years earlier, he had written, "And if the LORD had not forsaken him, he had never so returned back into Egypt as he did: 'to live of the spoils of it,' as is said, he speaketh." *A Justification of Sparation*, p, 54, Ed. 1610, 4,

CHAPTER I.

Doctor Cotton Mather's Life of Governor William Bradford.

AMONG those devout people was our William Bradford, who was born, *anno* 1588. [*He was baptized on the* 19*th March* 1589/1590], in an obscure village called Austerfield: where the people were as unacquainted with the *Bible* as the Jews do seem to have been with part of it in the days of Josiah. . . Here, and in some other places, he had a comfortable inheritance left him of his honest parents; who died while he was yet a child; and cast him on the education, first of his grandparents, and then of his uncles; who devoted him, like his ancestors, unto the affairs of husbandry.

Soon [*An early*] and long sickness kept him, as he would afterwards thankfully say, from the vanities of youth; and made him the fitter for what he was afterwards to undergo.

When he was about a dozen years old [? 1602], the reading of the Scriptures began to cause great impressions upon him; and those impressions were much assisted and improved when he came to enjoy Master Richard Clyfton's illuminating Ministry, not far from his abode. [*Austerfield is now* 10 *miles by the road from Babworth.*] He was then also further befriended by being brought into the company and fellowship of such

as were then called [Christian] Professors; though the young man that brought him into it, did after become a profane and wicked apostate. Nor could the wrath of his uncles, nor the scoff of his neighbours, now turned upon him as one of the Puritans, divert him from his pious inclinations.

At last, beholding how fearfully the evangelical and apostolical Church Form whereinto the Churches of the Primitive Times were cast by the good SPIRIT of GOD, had been deformed by the apostacy of the succeeding Times; and what little progress the Reformation had yet made in many parts of Christendom towards its recovery: he set himself, by reading, by discourse, by prayer, to learn, Whether it was not his duty to withdraw from the communion of the Parish Assemblies, and [to] engage with some Society of the Faithful that should keep close unto the written Word of GOD as the rule of their Worship. And, after many distresses of mind concerning it, he took up a very deliberate and understanding resolution of doing so: which resolution he cheerfully prosecuted; although the provoked rage of his friends tried all the ways imaginable, to reclaim him from it.

Unto all whom, his answer was, "Were I like[ly] to endanger my life, or consume my estate, by any ungodly courses; your counsels to me were very seasonable. But you know that I have been diligent and provident in my Calling: and not only desirous to augment what I have, but also to enjoy it in your company; to part from which will be as great a cross as can befall me. Nevertheless, to keep a good conscience, and walk in such a Way as GOD has prescribed in his Word, is a thing which I must prefer before you all, and above life itself. Wherefore, since it is for a good Cause that I am like[ly]

to suffer the disasters which you lay before me; you have no cause to be either angry with me, or sorry for me. Yea, I am not only willing to part with everything that is dear to me in this world for this Cause: but I am also thankful that GOD hath given me a heart so to do; and will accept me so to suffer for him."

Some lamented him; some derided him: all dissuaded him. Nevertheless the more they did it, the more fixed he was in his purpose to seek the Ordinances of the Gospel, where they should be dispensed with most of the commanded purity. And the sudden deaths of the chief relations, which thus lay at him, quickly after, convinced him, What a folly it had been to have quitted his Profession in expectation of any satisfaction from them. So to Holland he attempted a removal.

Having, with a great Company of Christians, hired a ship to transport them for Holland; the Master perfidiously betrayed them into the hands of those persecutors: who rifled and ransacked their goods; and clapped their persons into prison at Boston, where they lay for a month together. But Master BRADFORD, being a young man of about eighteen [*He was in his eighteenth year in this autumn of* 1607], was dismissed sooner than the rest.

So that, within a while, he had opportunity with some others, to get over to Zealand [*in the Spring of* 1608]; through perils both by land and sea not inconsiderable.

Where, he was not long ashore ere a viper seized on his hand; that is, an Officer, who carried him unto the Magistrates: unto whom an envious passenger [in the ship] had accused him as having fled out of England [*i.e. for crime*]. When the Magistrates understood the

true cause of his coming thither, they were well satisfied with him: and so he repaired joyfully unto his brethren at Amsterdam. Where the difficulties to which he afterwards stooped, in learning and serving of a Frenchman at the working of silks, were abundantly compensated [for] by the delight wherewith he sat under the Shadow of our Lord in his purely-dispensed Ordinances.

At the end of two [*or rather three*] years [*i.e. about March* 1611], he did, being of age to do it, convert his estate [*property*] in England into money. But setting up for himself; he found some of his designs, by the Providence of GOD, frowned upon; which he judged a correction bestowed by GOD upon him for certain decays of internal piety whereinto he had fallen. The consumption of his estate [*money*], he thought, came to prevent a consumption in his virtue.

But after he had resided in Holland about half a score years [*actually, from the Spring of* 1608 *to* 22*nd July* 1620]; he was one of those who bore a part in that hazardous and generous enterprise of removing into New England, with part of the English Church at Leyden: where, at their first landing, his dearest consort [DOROTHY BRADFORD], accidentally falling overboard, was drowned in the harbour.

And the rest of his days were spent in the services and the temptations of that American wilderness.

Here, was Master BRADFORD, in the year 1621, unanimously chosen the Governor of the Plantation. The difficulties whereof were such, that if he had not been a person of more than ordinary piety, wisdom, and courage, he must have sunk under them. He had, with a laudable industry, been laying up a treasure of experiences; and

he had now occasion to use it. Indeed nothing but an experienced man could have been suitable to the necessities of the people. . . .

He was indeed a person of a well-tempered spirit, or else it had been scarce possible for him to have kept the Affairs of Plymouth in so good a temper for thirty-seven years together: in everyone of which he was chosen their Governor; except the three years wherein Master WINSLOW, and the two years wherein Master PRINCE, at the choice of the people, took a turn with him.

The Leader of a people in a wilderness had need to be a MOSES; and if a MOSES had not led the people of Plymouth Colony, when this worthy person was their Governor, the people had never with so much unanimity and importunity still called him to lead them.

Among many instances thereof, let this one piece of self-denial be told for a memorial of him wheresoever this History [*Magnalia CHRISTI Americana*] shall be considered.

The *Patent* of the Colony [of 13/23 January 1629/1630] was taken in his name, running in these terms "To WILLIAM BRADFORD, his heirs, associates, and assigns." But when the number of the Freemen was much increased, and many new Townships erected; the General Court there, desired of Master BRADFORD, that he would make a surrender of the same into their hands: which he willingly and presently [*instantly*] assented unto, and confirmed it, according to their desire, by his hand and seal, reserving no more for himself than was his proportion, with others, by agreement.

But as he found the Providence of Heaven many ways recompensing his many acts of self-denial: so he gave this testimony to the faithfulness of the Divine

promises, That he had forsaken friends, houses, and lands for the sake of the Gospel: and the LORD gave them him again.

Here he prospered in his estate: and besides a worthy son which he had by a former wife; he had also two sons and a daughter by another, whom he married in this land.

He was a person for study as well as action: and hence, notwithstanding the difficulties through which he passed in his youth, he attained unto a notable skill in languages. The Dutch tongue was become almost as vernacular to him as the English. The French tongue he could also manage. The Latin and Greek he had mastered. But the Hebrew, he most of all studied, Because, he said, he would see with his own eyes the ancient Oracles of GOD in their native beauty.

He was also well skilled in History, in Antiquity, and in Philosophy. And for Theology, he became so versed in it, that he was an irrefragable disputant against the errors; especially those of Anabaptism which (with trouble) he saw rising in his Colony. Wherefore he wrote some significant things for the confutation of those errors.

But the crown of all was, his holy, prayerful, watchful, and fruitful Walk with GOD: wherein he was very exemplary.

At length he fell into an indisposition of body, which rendered him unhealthy for a whole winter [1656—1657]; and as the Spring advanced, his health yet more declined. Yet he felt himself not what he counted sick till one day [*7th May* 1657]. In the night after which, the GOD of Heaven so filled his mind with

ineffable consolations, that he seemed little short of PAUL, rapt up unto the unutterable entertainments of Paradise.

The next morning, he told his friends, That the good SPIRIT of GOD had given him a pledge of his happiness in another world; and the first fruits of his eternal glory.

And on the day following he died, May 9th 1657, in the 69th [*or rather* 68*th*] year of his age; lamented by all the Colonies of New England as a common Blessing and Father to them all. *Magnalia &c.*, Book II., pp. 3-5, Ed. 1702, fol.

CHAPTER II.

The Bradford Manuscript.

IN a note, dated 1646, Governor Bradford writes, "Full little did I think, that the downfall of the Bishops, with their Courts *Canons* and ceremonies, had been so near, when I first began these scribbled Writings; which was about the year 1630: and pieced [them] up, at times of leisure, afterward." *Bradford MS.*, folio 24.

Prior to that year, however, he had been the author of two documents:

(1) His *Pocket Book*, which was in the possession of the Rev. Thomas Prince, of Boston, N.E., in 1736; but which is now lost. It contained a Register of the deaths &c., commencing with that of William Butten on board the *Mayflower* on 6/16 November 1620, down to the end of March 1621.

(2) His *Letter Book*, as Governor of the Old Colony. The surviving fragment of this manuscript was printed by the Massachusetts Historical Society in 1794: see pp. 321, 322 of this volume.

Some Papers, as those printed at pp. 309-314, evidently came into his possession as the successor of Governor John Carver.

Robert Cushman's graphic letter from Dartmouth, at pp. 342-345, probably reached him through his second Wife, Alice; as it was addressed to her first husband, Edward Southworth.

Then the *Bradford MS.* may be regarded as a fair copy of various memoranda letters and accounts, that was commenced in 1630, and digested into Annals down to the year 1646; with the addition, in 1650, of the List of the *Mayflower* passengers.

But there is not space here, further to discuss its genesis, scope, and authoritativeness.

Professor JUSTIN WINSOR, in his admirable Paper, *Governor BRADFORD's manuscript* History of Plymouth Plantation*; and its transmission to our Times,* Cambridge, Massa, 1881, 8., gives us the following particulars of the adventures of this document.

PRINCE died in 1758 ; and he left, by will, the Library (which he had gathered ; and which he had kept in the "Steeple Chamber" of the Old South Church [Boston, Massa.]) to that Church, under the care of its Deacons : and it is highly probable that this manuscript was in this Collection at that time.

The most commonly received opinion is, that it was taken from the Old South tower by some one who knew its value, during the time when Boston was occupied by British troops in 1775-1776 ; and was carried, upon the evacuation, to England.

The manuscript then totally disappeared for nearly seventy years.

The Bishop of OXFORD (SAMUEL WILBERFORCE) had already published, in 1844, his first edition of the *History of the Protestant Episcopal Church in America* ; and in his reference [at page 55] to the manuscript, he speaks of it as a "Manuscript History of the Plantation of Plymouth &c., in the Fulham Library."

Several American Scholars have claimed the honour of identifying, in February 1855, from the above description, the long lost *Bradford MS.* : but the credit of it really belongs to the late Mr JOHN WINGATE THORNTON, of Boston, Massa., author of *The Landing at Cape Anne*, 1854, 8 ; as is stated by Professor WINSOR, in his *Narrative and Critical History of America*, iii. 286, 1886, 8.

The manuscript is now one of the literary treasures of Fulham Palace, London.

CHAPTER III.

The Beginning of Things.

NATHANIEL MORTON, Secretary to the Court for the Jurisdiction of New Plymouth, commences his *New England's Memorial*, published at Cambridge, New England, in 1669, with the following words:

In the year 1602, divers godly Christians of our English nation, in the north of England, being studious of Reformation; and therefore not only witnessing against human inventions and additions in the Worship of GOD, but minding most the positive and practical part of Divine Institutions: they entered into Covenant to walk with GOD, and one with another, in the enjoyment of the Ordinances of GOD, according to the primitive pattern in the Word of GOD.

By "entering into Covenant," MORTON here means the establishment of a Reformist Church. Now it is clear, from what Governor BRADFORD states at page 78, that the Scrooby Church was formed about a year before the migration to Holland; "which was in the years 1607 and 1608." We have adduced, at pp. 133, 134, irrefutable evidence that, on the 22nd March 1605, the Rev. JOHN SMYTH was still a Conformist Minister, and Preacher of the city of Lincoln. So that, at that date, he had not even come to Gainsborough; where, after nine months of doubting, he finally adopted the principles of the Separation. The formation of the Gainsborough Church cannot therefore be earlier than 1606.

We also think that both the Separatist Churches migrated to Holland about the same time.

Therefore we consider that MORTON's date is wrong by some four years.

The Rev. Doctor HENRY MARTYN DEXTER, of New Bedford, Massachusetts, a wealthy Congregational Minister, and a splendid Scholar and Researcher, has made the preparation of the present volume easier by his Works; and especially by his *Congregationalism as seen in its Literature*, 1880, 8. Perhaps no man has ever hunted more strenuously, or over a long period of time, or more regardless of expense, after the ultimate facts of the Pilgrim Story than Doctor DEXTER has done. He, however, but represents the knowledge of the year 1880, when he tells us,

"Assuming ROBINSON's leaving Norwich for the North to have been in 1604, we have little, if any, evidence of successful Separatism then anywhere in England, except at Gainsborough. . . . There may have been feeble efforts in the same line, contemporaneously in Norwich, London, Chatham, &c.: but we know of nothing anywhere comparable to SMYTH's Company on the Trent." *Congregationalism &c.*, p. 376.

We are not aware of any evidence tending to prove in the slightest degree, that ROBINSON was *ever* a member of SMYTH's Church; and we have proved, at pp. 133-134, that the Gainsborough Church was not established till 1606. Therefore if ROBINSON went North in 1604, he must have gone to Scrooby.

Coming down thirty-one years later in the Story, Doctor DEXTER says

"If we remember that it is not easy at this date [1633], in all England, to count more than one Independent, and five or six Baptist Churches (of these two sorts); it becomes obvious that Separatism, as such, had not been making large growth within the kingdom during the first Third of the Seventeenth Century. This was not because Puritanism was dead. One

explanation is, no doubt, found in the fact that Puritanism did not take kindly to Separatism." *Ibid.*, pp. 637, 638.

How did it all come about? Usually new religious Movements originate in the busy throng of men, and through the conflicting opinions of trained minds: as Lollardism, Methodism, and Ritualism at the University of Oxford; and the "Holy Discipline" at the University of Cambridge. But the Pilgrim District in England consists of nothing but an open country, dotted over with small villages and townships that, even at the present day, have a very small population.

The Pilgrim Movement subsisted in this District for twenty-two years; and no longer. Let us try and look at it, as if we were one of the oldest inhabitants in the place, that had seen both its beginning and its end.

It had not been so very long ago, since the District had been near spectators of, if not actual participators in, the two Roman Catholic risings known as "The Pilgrimage of Grace" of 1536, and "The Rising of the North" of 1569. Speaking generally, the District was itself probably slowly passing from Roman Catholicism to Protestantism. JOHN MILTON'S grandfather, as well as his own brother CHRISTOPHER, were Roman Catholics: and it is more than likely, that of the three men who, in succession, were the Post Masters at Scrooby; the grandfather was a Roman Catholic, the father a Protestant, as we know the Ruling Elder was a Separatist.

Again, it is almost impossible for us now a days to realize the crass ignorance of the country peasantry of England in the reign of Queen ELIZABETH.

We know that neither SHAKESPEARE'S father, nor his mother, with many other of his relations, could either read or write. The great Dramatist has given us specimens of the peasantry of his day, which is also the time of the Pilgrim Church in England, in his *Midsummer Night's Dream*, in NICK BOTTOM, the Weaver; FRANCIS FLUTE, the Bellows Mender; PETER

QUINCE, the Carpenter; TOM SNOUT, the Tinker; SNUG, the Joiner; and ROBERT STARVELING, the Tailor: And these seem to be the more learned of them, for they could combine together to act a play. Then for his Constables, who represented the majesty of the law to such peasants; has he not given us DOGBERRY and VERGES? Undoubtedly all these were not exaggerations; but studies from the actual life of his day.

By what possible process then, could such men as these, rise up to the intellectual level of the "Holy Discipline," and sit in judgement upon the Bishops? who, whatever drawbacks might be attributed to them, were generally learned men.

For the peasants of the Pilgrim District, the Great North Road (itself a mere horse track, and not fenced in; so that the traveller needed a guide, to prevent his wandering out of the way) was the only sign to them, of that great outside World in which the Bishops lived; but of which they personally knew little, or nothing at all.

Herein, however, they were more fortunate in their intellectual development than SHAKESPEARE. They had educated Leaders. He had none.

CLYFTON, BREWSTER, ROBINSON, and SMYTH were all Cambridge University men: and but for them, there never would have been any Pilgrim Fathers at all.

So going back to the ultimate facts, we say that the Pilgrim Movement originated in the Rectory and Church of Babworth in Nottinghamshire; and that it was mainly a Nottinghamshire Movement. The West Riding of Yorkshire was not in it; except as Austerfield was the home of Governor W. BRADFORD: but he, during the period now under review, was merely a child growing to youthhood. Lincolnshire, through the Congregation at Gainsborough, temporarily furthered the Movement during the years 1606—1608: but this was merely an accidental help, occasioned by the coming to that town of the Rev. JOHN SMYTH. In the main, Nottinghamshire men founded the Pilgrim Church.

Now Nottinghamshire, at that time, as Archbishop SANDYS

tells us at page 62, was wholly in the diocese of York; and whatever official ecclesiastical documents still survive, should be found in that city, or at Southwell.

JOHN S. PIERCY in his *History of Retford*, page 205, 1828, 8, gives the following information about the Rectors of Babworth:

Temp. Inst.	*Rectores.*	*Patroni.*	*Vacat.*
11 July 1586.	Rev. RICHARD CLYFTON.	By the Assigns of JOHN SYDENHAM.	——
	Rev. RICHARD CHESTER.	——	*Privat[us].*
6 June 1605.	Rev. GEORGE TURVIN.	——	*Mort[uus].*

The important point here, for our present purpose, is When did the Rev. RICHARD CLYFTON give up the Living at Babworth; and Why did he give it up? We cannot say. We are told, see following pp. 95, 96, that his six children were born at the Rectory; and the youngest of these, ELEAZAR, was born on the 1st November 1598: so he was Rector till that date, at any rate; but for how long after, has not yet been ascertained.

To this Rectory then, some forty-five months before Governor BRADFORD was born, came this Derbyshire man, the Rev. RICHARD CLYFTON, æt. 33. He was what was then called, a "forward [*advanced*] Preacher," or a Reformist.

Governor BRADFORD (who, as a youth, attended his Ministry) writes of him, in his *First Dialogue*, "Much good had he done in the country where he lived; and converted many to GOD, by his faithful and painful Ministry, both in preaching and catechizing." In fact, both intellectually and spiritually, he woke up the neighbourhood. And this may have been the easier; because, curiously enough, Babworth parish was then, as now, pure country, with a small population. It contains 6,190 acres, with a population in 1891 of 753 persons; and, to this hour, it has not even a village: the farm labourers' cottages being grouped round the several farms.

So that, although CLYFTON deserted the Pilgrim Church in 1609; he must ever be regarded as the senior of the Leaders of that Separation.

The next event, in point of time, is that WILLIAM BREWSTER, also a Nottinghamshire man and a Cambridge Undergraduate, took charge of the Post at Scrooby, from about January 1589. His particular method of helping on the Cause, was to furnish money for the support of Reformist Preachers in the Parish Churches round about: "he himself [being]," as Governor BRADFORD tells us at page 190, "most commonly deepest in the charge [*expense*], and sometimes above his ability." It should ever be remembered that the Ruling Elder worked vigorously for the common good, within the Church; before he went out of it: and that persecution drove him out of it.

These Preachers were not the incumbents of the Livings, who often did not preach at all, or simply read one of the *Homilies*; but were extra Clergymen, to a large extent holding "Holy Discipline" views, who preached vigorous and lengthy *extempore* sermons.

So CLYFTON and BREWSTER worked on, for years together, till 1601 A.D.; when another Nottinghamshire man makes his appearance on the scene.

Worksop, Notts, is seven miles from Babworth; and just north of Sherwood Forest and the "Dukeries."

JOHN HOLLAND, in his *History of Worksop*, page 127, 1826, 4, in his *Catalogue of the Vicars of Worksop*, gives the following information:

Temp. Instit.	*Vicarii Ecclesiæ.*	*Patroni.*	*Vacat.*
19 Junii 1601.	RIC. BERNARD.	RIC. WALLEY ar.	Cession.
16 Febii. 1613.	OLIVER BRAY.	*Idem.*	*Mort*[*uus*].

This RICHARD BERNARD (a Cambridge Graduate, and a most excellent man; afterwards, and better known as, the Rector of Batcombe, in Somersetshire) was all but a Separatist himself. For a long time, he halted between two opinions: but finally adhered to the established Church.

He seems to have known all the Leaders of this Separation personally: and, later on, he was one of the chief Writers against them. Here is a story of him.

But a speech of your own, uttered to myself [*and therefore at some time in the years* 1606—1608], ever to be remembered with fear and trembling, cannot I forget: when, after the Conference passing between Master H. [? THOMAS HELWYS, or HELWISSE] and me, you uttered these words, "Well, I will return home, and preach as I have done: and I must say, as NAAMAN did, *The LORD be merciful unto me in this thing!*" [II. Kings v. 18., Geneva Version.] And, thereupon, you further promised, with any provocation [thereto] by me or any other, That you would never deal against this Cause; nor withhold any from it. Though the very next LORD'S Day, or next but one, you taught publicly against it: and so broke your vow; the LORD grant, not your conscience! Rev. JOHN ROBINSON. *A Justification of Separation &c.*, page 10, Ed. 1610, 4.

Then CLYFTON and BREWSTER continued to work on for the spiritual enlightenment of the district, probably also now working together, until about 1604, when the Rev. JOHN ROBINSON another Nottinghamshire man and also a Cambridge Graduate, came north from Norwich.

The Separatist Movement continued to grow; but, as Governor BRADFORD tells us at page 70, the Church at Scrooby was not formally organised till 1606: when the late Rector of Babworth became its Pastor, and the Rev. JOHN ROBINSON became his Assistant; with probably one or more Deacons.

When the Rev. JOHN CLYFTON declined to migrate to Leyden, and threw in his lot with the Ancient exiled Church at Amsterdam; then it was, in 1609, and not earlier, that the Rev. JOHN ROBINSON became the Leader of the Pilgrim Fathers; and so remained until his death in 1625.

About 1606, the Rev. JOHN SMYTH, likewise a Cambridge Graduate, came from Lincoln to the edge of the Pilgrim District, at Gainsborough, and founded there a Separatist Church; which, after an existence of two years, migrated to Amsterdam. This Lincolnshire Movement is entirely distinct from the one we are now considering: though, of course, the one helped the other. Worksop is about twenty miles from Gainsborough; so that the following anedote of the Rev. RICHARD BERNARD

is a remarkable testimony to the power of the Rev. JOHN SMYTH'S Ministry at that time.

> Once [*i. e. between* 1606 *and* 1608], you know, Master B[ERNARD], you did separate from the rest, an hundred voluntary [Christian] Professors into Covenant with the LORD, sealed up with the LORD'S Supper, "to forsake all known sin, to hear no wicked or dumb Ministers," and the like. Which Covenant, long since, you have dissolved: not shaming to affirm, you did it only in policy, to keep your people from Master SMYTH. Rev. JOHN ROBINSON. *A Justification of Separation &c.*, pp. 94, 95, Ed. 1610, 4.

With the exodus of these two Congregations, the whole of the Separatist Movement, in the Pilgrim District, absolutely died out; as if it had never existed at all.

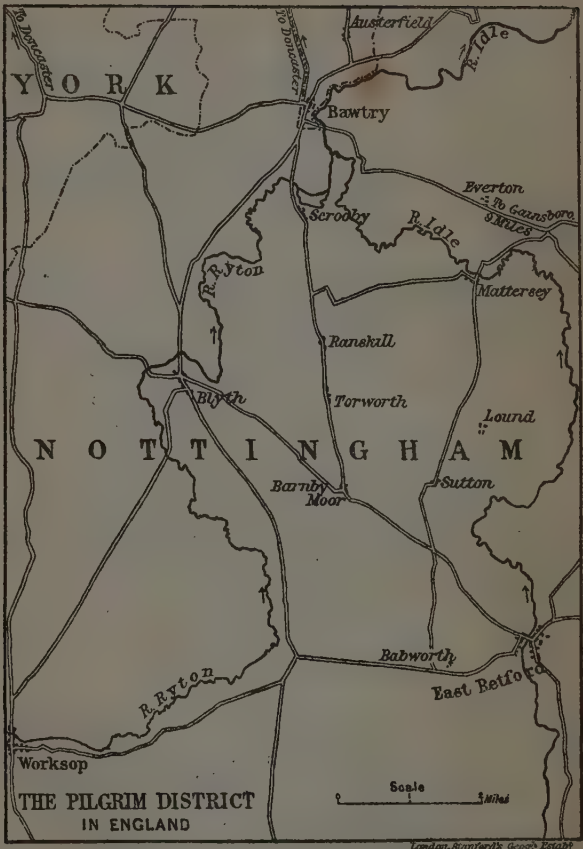
It was entirely the work of four Cambridge University men: and when they departed out of the country, it departed with them.

Among the other features of this movement are these:

1. London had nothing to do with it.

2. It originated in the locality; and nearly all its Leaders were local men, or from the adjoining counties.

3. During this Nottinghamshire period of its history, it produced no books: probably on account of the metropolitan Censorship of the Press described at pp. 18-20.


To Doncaster
To Doncaster
Austerfield
R. Idle
YORK
Bawtry
Everton
To Gainsboro
9 Miles
Scrooby
R. Idle
R. Ryton
Mattersey
Ranskill
Blyth
Torworth
Lound
NOTTINGHAM
Barnby Moor
Sutton
Babworth
East Retford
R. Ryton
Worksop
Scale
Miles
THE PILGRIM DISTRICT
IN ENGLAND
London, Stanford's Geogl Estabt

CHAPTER IV.

The Pilgrim District in England.

THIS District lies entirely in the broad valley of the lower Trent, about thirty to forty miles from its junction with the Ouse; when they together form the Humber. It is an open country, rather pleasing than pretty: and far away from any great centre of population. It was then, as it is now, but thinly populated: and it is therefore the last place in the word where a religious movement might have been expected to originate.

Within four hours after leaving the King's Cross terminus in London, the Great Northern Railway trains bring you to Bawtry, co. York, 151½ miles by rail, but 153 by the Great North Road.

Bawtry is about an equal distance, of a mile or so, from Austerfield to the north-east; and Scrooby to the south-east: but, except that, later, it supplanted Scrooby as the Post town of the locality, it does not concern our present enquiry.

Going southward from Bawtry, one immediately perceives the spire of St Wilfrid's, Scrooby. Then on our right, the road to Blyth, 4 miles; and to Worksop 11 miles, turns off.

Passing this, we come to Ryton stream, which Leland, at page 61, calls "Scrooby Water." It falls into the Idle below that village.

The Great North Road used to go through Scrooby; but, early in this century, it was diverted, and is now placed on the west of it.

As the roads exist at the present day:

Looking northward from Scrooby, Bawtry is 1 mile distant, Austerfield 2 miles, Doncaster 10 miles, and York 46 miles.

Looking eastward, Scaftworth is 1 mile distant, Everton 3 miles, Gringley on the Hill 6 miles, Gainsborough 12 miles, Lincoln 31 miles, and Boston 67 miles.

Looking southward, Babworth is 8 miles distant, Retford 8 miles, Tuxford 14½ miles, Mansfield 25 miles, and Nottingham 35 miles.

Looking westward, Blyth is 4 miles, and Worksop 11 miles.

But it is a very great question what cross roads (that is horse paths; for wheeled vehicles were not common), then existed. The present road, six miles, from Gainsborough to Gringley on the Hill, was only made about a hundred years ago.

The Church Living at Scrooby has been annexed to the Rectory of Sutton cum Lound: all the three villages being so small, as that their Livings have been thrown into one.

In the same way the Living of Austerfield has been annexed to the Rectory of Bawtry.

The Pilgrim District in England may be roughly defined as an isosceles triangle of which Austerfield, Babworth, and Worksop are the three points.

The first impression on reaching Scrooby, is that of perfect wonderment how so small a place could possibly have originated the Pilgrim Movement. It is about one half the size of Austerfield, which contains 2,781 acres, with a population in 1891 of 351; whereas Scrooby has but 1,520 acres, with a population, in that year, of 219.

As a matter of fact, it was the Great North Road that was the proximate cause of the Pilgrim Church. That supported William Brewster; and he was a leading spirit in, and one of the financiers of, that Cause.

It must be clearly understood that the old Manor Place at Scrooby has absolutely disappeared. The Rev. Canon JOHN RAINE, wrotē in 1860,

The Mounds of the Fish Ponds of Scrooby Palace still remain. The Manor House itself is simply a plain farm tenement, with a lofty and round headed arch, now blocked up, in one wall, which probably formed once a carriage entrance; and a niche in another. An old and tottering mulberry tree * is recorded to have been planted by Cardinal WOLSEY. And these are all the remains of the archiepiscopal Palace of Scrooby. *Sic transit! The History and Antiquities of the Parish of Blyth*, p. 130. Westminster, 1860, 4.

The Manor House Farm has been held for many years back by Mr SHILLITO; who died, æt. 76, in 1896; and is now occupied by his widow, Mrs CATHARINE SHILLITO. It is held from Lord CREWE; who himself holds it under a long lease from the Archbishop of YORK.

When Mr SHILLITO was a boy, about 1830, the country between Scrooby and Scaftworth was not enclosed; and the Idle covered more ground than it does at present.

The Farm is annually visited by some fifty persons, chiefly Americans; but, in 1896, double that number came to see it.

We have here given a Map of the District; but any one desirous of more minute information, should get from London

Ordnance Map. One Inch to the Mile.

Sheet 101. (East Retford.) Price, One Shilling.

This map includes Gainsborough; but not Austerfield.

And those who would like to go further into the matter, should get

Ordnance Map. Six Inches to the Mile.

Nottinghamshire. Sheet VI., N.W. Price, Two Shillings.

The Map gives Scrooby very plainly; with the Manor House Farm clearly marked thereon.

These are really two of the most authentic Memorials of the Pilgrims that can now be procured.

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* This tree has since disappeared.—E. A.

Turning now to the history of the place: when Cardinal Wolsey wanted to bury himself in the country, away from the observation and wrath of King Henry VIII., he went to Scrooby.

And the next day, he came to Scrooby; where he continued until after Michaelmas [1530], ministering many deeds of charity.

Most commonly, every Sunday, if the weather did serve, he would travel unto some parish church thereabout, and there would say his divine service; and either hear or say mass himself, causing some one of his Chaplains to preach unto the people. And that done, he would dine in some honest house of that town: where should be distributed to the poor, a great alms; as well of meat and drink, as of money to supply the want of sufficient meat, if the number of the poor did so exceed of necessity.

And thus with other good deeds practising and exercising during his abode there at Scrooby; as making of Love Days, and agreements between party and party being then at variance: he daily frequented himself there, about such business and deeds of honest charity.

George Cavendish. *The Life of Cardinal Wolsey*, Vol. I., pp. 260, 261, Ed. 1825, 8.

An Inventory of the implements in the 39 chambers or apartments of the Manor House at Scrooby, on the 12th January 1535/1536, will be found calendared in *The Letters and Papers of the Reign of Henry VIII.*, Vol. X., page 30, Ed. 1887, 8.

Eight years later, in 1538, John Leland the Antiquary, gives us the following account of Scrooby and Bawtry:

From Gainsborough, over Trent, into Nottinghamshire; and so to Madersey [*now* Mattersey] village, a five miles . . .

Thence I rode a mile, in low wash and somewhat fenny ground; and a mile farther or more, by higher ground, to Scrooby in Nottinghamshire.

In the mean townlet of Scrooby, I marked two things:

The parish church [of St Wilfrid] not big; but very well builded *ex lapide polite quadrato*.

The second was a great Manor Place, standing within a moat, and [be]longing to the Archbishop of York; [and] builded into Courts. Whereof the first is very ample, and all builded of timber:

saving the front of the Hall, that is of brick ; to which *ascenditur per gradus lapideos.* The Inner Court building, as far as I marked, was of timber building ; and was not in compass past the fourth part of the Utter Court.

From Scrooby to Bawtry, a mile or more.

Riding a very little beyond Scrooby Manor Place, I passed by a ford over the [Ryton] river ; and so, betwixt the pales of two Parks [be]longing to Scrooby, I came to Bawtry.

Bawtry is a very bare and poor market town ; standing in Yorkshire, as the inhabitants of it told me. So that, by this, it should seem that Scrooby Water [*the Ryton stream*], in some parts, divideth the Shires.

The Itinerary of JOHN LELAND, *began about* 1538, 30 *HENRY* VIII. Ed. (in 9 Vols.) by THOMAS HEARNE, Vol. I., pp. 28, 29, Oxford, 1710, 8.

We learn from the following letters of EDWIN SANDYS, Archbishop of YORK, that, in spite of its small size and population, Scrooby was an important place in his day.

ARCHBISHOP EDWIN SANDYS TO QUEEN ELIZABETH.
SATURDAY, 24 NOVEMBER /4 DECEMBER 1582.

Most gracious Sovereign. Your Majesty's letter, dated at Windsor, the 5th of November ; I received at Bishopsthorpe, the 18th of the same : and, remembering that it was in me more dutiful to answer by myself than by any other means or message, I presently [*at once*] entered on my journey towards the Court.

After I had passed three days' journey from home, such was the weakness of my body and the grief of my mind meeting together that I fell into such a feebleness and sickness that I could travel no farther : by reason whereof I am, of necessity, forced to answer by my letter, which I minded to do by word of mouth.

Most gracious Sovereign. Give me leave to put you in mind, that I am an old man ; my body worn out with much painful travail. This is, with me, *annus climactericus magnus* [*i.e.* 63 : *for he died on* 10 *July* 1588, *æt.* 69]. I look not to live many days. I have lived in the Ministry, and painfully travailed in the preaching of the Gospel these five and thirty years. I have ever entered at the door by lawful Calling, and never at the window by indirect Dealing. How I have laboured in GOD's vineyard, how uprightly I have walked in GOD's house : heaven and earth will

record with me! Hitherto I never impaired any ecclesiastical Living; but left the same in better case than I found it. I must needs, in conscience, continue the like course.

But, alas, gracious Sovereign, your late letter has greatly assaulted this course. For as no creature living can be more loath than I, to shew myself unthankful in denying your Highness anything; at whose hands I have received all things: so may I not yield to that, wherein I should so highly grieve GOD, kill mine own conscience, and do that which should tend to your Majesty's dishonour.

And when I remember your Majesty's most princely speech uttered to me, at Richmond, touching this like matter, that was, That you would never impair any bishopric; but leave them in as good state as you found them: and That if we were hurt; we should hurt ourselves, and no fault in your Majesty: and also how GOD hath appointed you to be a Nurse unto the Church of CHRIST: I assure myself that your Majesty was never acquainted thoroughly with the thing which, by your letter, was required.

The request in your Highness's letter is—to lease unto your Majesty, one Manor; not naming any. The Lease sent withal, by me to be sealed, compriseth in it, two great Manors, Southwell and Scrooby; with all their members and appurtences whatsoever; which are all the lands and Livings that the See of York hath in Nottinghamshire: even so much, that they are esteemed [to be] the third part of all the [Arch]bishop's Livings. These two Manors be stately, and the Countenance [*maintenance*] of the [Arch]bishop; endowed with great liberties and Charters from your Majesty's progenitors.

These granted away, the [Arch]bishop is excluded out of Nottinghamshire, [it, however,] being wholly of his diocese: and a great part thereof where I have twice, by my ordinary jurisdiction, visited in mine own person; and once, by authority of the High Commission, with [HENRY HASTINGS] the Earl of HUNTINGDON and others. And also kept house amongst them, at sundry times; and, at some one time, by four months together, in mine own house there.

The rent reserved, in this new conceived Lease, for the Manor of Scrooby with its members is £40 by year: and yet the annual rent thereof to the [Arch]bishop is £170 by year. But this is a small loss to that which followeth.

I am compelled, by law, to repair two fair Houses standing upon these two Manors: whither I resort for my lodging, at such times as I come thither for your Majesty's service. By this Lease, if it should pass; I am excluded out of both.

I am restrained by your Majesty's special letter, [either] to sell or [to] give away any timber trees; which your Highness count[eth] no Bishop hath better observed than I. This Lease granteth liberty to cut down and sell all woods, underwoods, and trees.

There pertain to these two Manors, as members thereof, 32 towns; and, as it is thought, 1000 tenants, poor Copyholders, for the most part; which have enjoyed great liberties and customs All these, by this Lease, may be racked; and, as the Prophet saith, the "skin pulled off their backs" [Mic. iii. 2, 3]: the cry whereof would sound in your Majesty's ears, to your great discontent.

The Manor of Southwell hath belonging unto it, three Parks well furnished with deer. By virtue of this Lease, they may all be disparked; and turned to greater gain.

In this Lease, be all R granted; which thing within the space of twenty years and less, will make the annual rent of these two Manors above £1,000 by year; if the land be racked [literally *squeezed to the dregs*. It means here, *the rent raised to the uttermost*] as now a days amongst men is commonly used.

The woods now growing are esteemed [to be] worth £5,000: so that the great abatement of the annual rent beforementioned [*from* £170 *to* £40], the want [*neglecting*] of the Houses, the cutting down of all the woods, the great Liberties and Royalties pertaining to these two Manors, the great benefit of these R with perquisites in Courts, Felons' and Deodans' goods; with all other commodities belonging to these two Manors and their members; would, within the compass of this Lease, if it should be granted, be a loss unto the See of York of £70,000 at the least. Too much, most gracious Sovereign! too much to pull away from a poor Bishopric! inferior to many others in revenue, but superior in charge and countenance [*maintenance*]. The LORD forbid that I should ever yield to so great inconveniences, or consent to the ruin and spoil of this poor Bishopric; which, in conscience, I should help and not hurt: and it would, in time, be chronicled by the Papists to the slander of the Gospel, and my perpetual infamy.

Thus much known to your Majesty, I do assure myself, such is the great care that your Highness hath for the preservation of the patrimony of the Church, that you will not mislike [my denial]; but rather me unworthy to live, if I should consent to so great an evil.

O gracious Sovereign! Let me have the continuance of your gracious favour! and suffer me to live, while I live, for my days will be short, with a clear conscience towards GOD! and send not my grey head to the grave with sorrow! For as I acknowledge myself most bound unto your Highness; so is there no subject that beareth to your Majesty a more faithful true and dutiful heart than I do.

And that it may appear to your Majesty, that I seek not myself, but the good of the Church; I shall most gladly give all the substance that I have, as it shall please you to appoint; as also to resign up the whole Interest that I have in this [arch]bishopric to your Majesty's hands, to dispose of; or else what thing soever lieth in me to do, which with a good conscience towards GOD I may, that shall be ever most ready to your Majesty's command.

Thus, with my most hearty prayer to GOD for your Majesty's good and long preservation; I most humbly take my leave, this 24th day of November 1582

Your Majesty's
most humble and faithful subject,
E. EBOR.

JOHN LE NEVE. *The Lives . . . of the Protestant Bishops of the Church of England.* Vol. I., Part II., pp. 58-63, Ed. 1720, 8.

Landsdowne MS., No. 50. Articles 33, 34 consist of another letter and its enclosure from Archbishop EDWIN SANDYS; justifying himself from the attacks of MATTHEW HUTTON the Dean of York, and also enclosing a List of the Reversions and Leases that he had given to his six sons.

In the letter, he naïvely says, "I am bound in conscience to take care of my family:" and he certainly did so.

ARCHBISHOP EDWIN SANDYS TO WILLIAM CECIL, LORD BURLEGH. HUNTINGDON; 22 MAY /1 JUNE 1586.

The List shews that Sir SAMUEL SANDYS had had six leases;

Sir MILES SANDYS, five leases; Sir EDWIN SANDYS, four leases; HENRY SANDYS, two leases; THOMAS SANDYS, two leases; and GEORGE SANDYS the Poet, two leases.

The following Items in this List concern Scrooby.

5. Item, an other Lease, of the Manor of Scrooby to the said SAMUEL SANDYS.
   Annui reddit⁹. £21, 2s. 6d.
   Esteemed to [be worth] £100.
9. Item, a lease of the Mills at Scrooby to SAMUEL SANDYS his son.
   Annui reddit⁹. £11, 12s. 2d.
   Esteemed to [be worth] £100.

It was by the granting of the above leases, that WILLIAM BREWSTER became acquainted with the SANDYS family: for he held the Manor House from Sir SAMUEL SANDYS. And when the Pilgrim Church at Leyden determined to go to America, the first thing they did, was to approach Sir EDWIN SANDYS, then one of the Council for Virginia, through their Ruling Elder. See page 284.

ROBERT THOROTON in his *Antiquities of Nottinghamshire*, London, 1677, fol.

Here, within memory [*say, then from* 1620], stood a very fair Palace; a far greater House of receipt, and a better seat for provision, than Southwell: and had attending to it, the North Soke; consisting of very many towns thereabouts. It hath a fair park belonging to it.

Archbishop SANDYS caused it to be demised to his son, Sir SAMUEL SANDYS: since which, the House hath been demolished almost to the ground.

The Church, a fair one too, if not ruinous, is appropriated to the Archbishopric of York. pp. 479, 480.

To modern ideas, Austerfield Church is a discredit to the locality. It is more like a barn than a church.

At the northern end of the village, is a cottage, now divided into two tenements which is believed to have been WILLIAM BRADFORD's home. Here again there is nothing

remarkable in the scenery. It is simply open, pleasant, breezy country.

BRADFORD, as a boy, used to walk from Austerfield to Babworth, to hear the Rev. RICHARD CLYFTON, the Reformist Clergyman who was the Rector there.

We walked the present road, 10 miles; which is probably identical with that lad's tramp for the 6 miles to Barnby Moor: where the Great North Road, going south, bears away to the eastward. Considering the unenclosed condition of the country then, BRADFORD probably made some straight cut from there, to Babworth; save a mile or two of the distance.

At Babworth, the Church, the Rectory, and the Hall, are all enclosed in the same beautiful park. It requires a very strong literary faith to realize that such a democratic movement as that of the Pilgrim Church, should have originated in what is now such an aristocratic locality, and such an early Paradise.

We have now briefly noticed the Pilgrim District proper; which, with the exception of Austerfield, is entirely in Nottinghamshire. After the Pilgrim Movement had been in existence there some twenty years; in 1606, the Rev. JOHN SMYTH came from Lincoln to Gainsborough, and dared to set up a Separatist Church there.

There is nothing whatever in Gainsborough that can now be definitely associated with either the Nottinghamshire, or the Lincolnshire, Separatists.

We may mention, however, in passing, that Gainsborough is the St Oggs of GEORGE ELIOT's *Mill on the Floss*; that the Trent is the Floss; and that the Mill, which she called Dorlcote Mill, still exists below the town.

CHAPTER V.

Scrooby and Gainsborough.

BUT that I may come more near my intendment; when as by the travail and diligence of some godly and zealous Preachers [in the Parish Churches], and GOD's blessing on their labours: as in other places of the land [of England] so in the north parts, many became inlightened by the Word of GOD; and had their ignorance and sins discovered unto them; and began by his grace to reform their lives and make conscience of their ways: the work of GOD was no sooner manifest in them, but presently they were both scoffed and scorned by the profane multitude; and the Ministers urged with the yoke of *Subscription* [to the *Thirty-nine Articles* of 1562], or else must be silenced. And the poor people were so vexed with Apparitors and Pursuivants, and the Commissary Courts; as truly their affliction was not small: which notwithstanding they bore, sundry years, with much patience, till they were occasioned, by the continuance and increase of these troubles, and other means which the Lord raised up in those days, to see further into things, by the light of the Word of GOD. How not only these base and beggarly Ceremonies were unlawful [*morally wrong*]; but also that the lordly and tyrannous power of the Prelates ought not to be submitted unto: which thus, contrary to the freedom of the Gospel, would load and burden men's consciences; and, by their compulsive power, make a

profane mixture of persons and things in the worship of GOD. And that their Offices and Callings, Courts and *Canons* &c., were unlawful and antichristian: being such as have no warrant in the Word of GOD; but the same were used in Popery, and still retained.

Of which, a famous Author [EMANUEL VAN METEREN] thus writeth in his Dutch Commentaries, at the coming of King JAMES into England. "The new King," saith he, "found there established the Reformed Religion, according to the Reformed Religion of King EDWARD the Sixth, retaining or keeping still the spiritual [*ecclesiastical*] state of the Bishops, &c., after the old manner: much varying, or differing, from the Reformed Churches in Scotland, France, and the Netherlands, Emden, Geneva, &c.: whose Reformation is cut, or shapen, much nearer the first Christian Churches, as it was used in the Apostles' times." [A *General History of the Netherlands*, translated by E. GRIMSTONE, Lib. XXV., fol. 119, Ed. 1608, fol.]

So many therefore of these Professors * as saw the evil of these things, in these parts; and whose hearts the LORD had touched with heavenly zeal for his truth: they shook off the yoke of antichristian bondage. And, as the LORD's free people, joined themselves, by a Covenant of the LORD, into a Church estate, in the fellowship of the Gospel, to walk in all his ways made known, or to be made known, unto them, according to their best endeavours; whatsoever it should cost them, the LORD assisting them. And that it cost them something, this ensuing History will declare.

* Christian Professors. A title peculiar to some few in the land [of England]; which favour the forward Preachers, frequent their sermon and advance the Cause of Reformation. Rev. JOHN ROBINSON. *A Justification of Separation &c.*, p. 7, Ed. 1610, 4.

These people became two distinct bodies, or Churches; and in regard of [the] distance of place, did congregate severally. For they were of sundry towns and villages; some in Nottinghamshire, some of Lincolnshire, and some of Yorkshire: where they [*the three Counties*] border nearest together.

In one of these Churches, besides others of note, was Master JOHN SMITH, a man of able gifts and a good Preacher; who, afterwards, was chosen their Pastor. But these, afterwards [, *in* 1608—1612], falling into some errors in the Low Countries: there, for the most part, buried themselves and their names.

But in this other Church, which must be the subject of our discourse, besides other worthy men, was Master RICHARD CLYFTON a grave and reverend Preacher: who, by his pains and diligence had done much good; and, under GOD, had been the means of the conversion of many. Also that famous and worthy man, Master JOHN ROBINSON; who afterwards was their Pastor for many years, till the LORD took him away by death. Also Master WILLIAM BREWSTER, a reverend man; who afterwards was chosen [at Leyden] an Elder of the Church, and lived with them till old age.

But, after these things, they could not long continue in any peaceable condition; but were hunted and persecuted on every side: so as their former afflictions were but as flea-bitings in comparision of these which now came upon them. For some were taken and clapt up in prison. Others had their houses beset and watched, night and day; and hardly escaped their hands: and the most were fain to fly and leave their houses and habitations, and the means of their livelihood. Yet these, and many other sharper things which afterwards befell them, were no other than they looked for: and therefore

were [they] the better prepared to bear them by the assistance of GOD's grace and SPIRIT.

Yet seeing themselves thus molested; and that there was no hope of their continuance there [as a Church]: by a joint consent, they resolved to go into the Low Countries, where they heard was Freedom of Religion for all men; as also how sundry, from London and other parts of the land [of England], had been exiled and persecuted for the same Cause, and were gone thither, and lived at Amsterdam and in other places of the land [of Holland].

So, after they had continued together about a year; and kept their Meetings every Sabbath in one place or another, exercising the Worship of GOD amongst themselves; notwithstanding all the diligence and malice of their adversaries: they seeing they could no longer continue in that condition, they resolved to get over into Holland as they could. Which [migration] was in the years 1607 and 1608. *Bradford Manuscript*, folios 27-31.

CHAPTER VI.

William Brewster, Postmaster at Scrooby. January 1589 to 30 September 1607.

IN the Public Record Office of London, are the following "Declared Accounts. Pipe Office," rendered by the Master of the Posts, John Stanhope; afterwards the first Lord Stanhope of Harrington.

Roll.	Dates.	Name of Accountant.
2737.	1 April 1590 to 31 March 1592.	John Stanhope.
2738.	1 April 1592 to 31 March 1594.	do.
2739.	1 April 1594 to 31 March 1597.	Sir John Stanhope.
2740.	1 April 1597 to 31 March 1599.	do.
2741.	1 April 1599 to 31 March 1602.	do.
2742.	1 April 1602 to 31 March 1605.	John, Lord Stanhope.
2743.	1 April 1605 to 31 March 1607.	do.
2744.	1 April 1607 to 31 March 1609.	do.

The first thing these Rolls give is the following List of the Posts, at this time, along the great North Road, between London and Berwick upon Tweed: to which we have added the exact mileage as given in Daniel Paterson's *British Itinerary . . . roads in Great Britain.*

Miles.		*Miles.*
—	Berwick, co. Northumb.	337¼
15	Belford, co. Northumb.	322¼
29½	Alnwick, co. Northumb.	307¾
48¾	Morpeth, co. Northumb.	288½

Miles.		*Miles.*	*Miles.*
[—	Carlisle, co. Cumb.	56¼	330
20¾	Haltwhistle, co. Northumb.	35½	309½
35¾	Hexham, co. Northumb.	20½	294¼

At Newcastle, the road turned off westward to Carlisle.]

63⅛	Newcastle, co. Northumb.	273¾
78	Durham, co. Durham.	259¼
96¼	Darnton [*i.e. Darlington*], co. Durham.	241
112¼	Northallerton, co. York.	225

Here, going north, alternative routes presented themselves. The above is the Northallerton route.

131¼	Boroughbridge, co. York.	206
143¼	Wetherby, co. York.	194
160	Ferrybridge, co. York.	177¼
175¼	Doncaster, co. York.	162

[*Later, the Post was removed from Scrooby to*

184¼	Bawtry, co. York.	153]
185¼	Scrooby, co. Notts.	152
199¾	Tuxford, co. Notts.	137½
213	Newark, co. Linc.	124¼
227¼	Grantham, co. Linc.	110
238¼	South Witham, co. Linc.	99
248	Stamford, co. Linc.	89¼
262¼	Stilton, co. Hunts.	75

[*There were two routes from London to Alconbury Hill. The shorter one, through Royston, which we give here; which was* 64 *miles, measured from Shoreditch Church, London: and the longer one, through Hitchen; which was* 67¾ *miles, measured from Hick's Hall, London.*]

278½	Huntingdon, co. Hunts.	58¾
288	Caxton, co. Camb.	49¼
299¾	Royston, co. Herts.	37½
316¼	Ware, co. Herts.	21
326	Waltham Cross, co. Herts.	11¼
337¼	London.	—

Mr Herbert Joyce, C.B., in his *History of the Post Office*, page 3, 1893, 8, states

As late as 1621, all the Posts in the Kingdom, which even then were only four in number, started from the Court :

I. The "Court to Berwick," i.e. the post to Scotland.
II. The "Court to Beaumaris," i.e. the post to Ireland.
III. The "Court to Dover," i.e. the post to the Continent.
IV. The "Court to Plymouth," i.e. the post to the Royal Dockyard.

We now give the contents of two rare broadside Proclamations of January 1584, of which copies are preserved in the British Museum, Press-mark, G. 6,463, as they will give us some insight as to the nature of the duties that William Brewster had to perform while he was Post Master at Scrooby.

Orders set down and allowed by the Lords of Her Majesty's Privy Council, and appointed to be put in print, for the Posts between London and the Borders of Scotland.
At Westminster, the 14th of January 1583[-4].

For the avoiding of sundry inconveniences happening by the over great liberty of late used in riding Post; and for the easing [of] divers Her Majesty's good subjects, greatly complaining to have been thereby oppressed ; and for sundry other good considerations : the Lords of Her Majesty's most honourable Privy Council have set down and established these Orders following—straitly charging and commanding, in Her Majesty's name and behalf, as well the Master of the Posts as all other Justices of the Peace, Mayors, Sheriffs, Bailiffs, Constables, Headboroughs, and all other persons whatsoever, to see the same duly observed and kept in all places, as they and every of them tender Her Majesty's service ; and at their perils will answer to the contrary.

Inprimis. If any man, having the place or name of an ordinary Post, shall not reside and dwell upon the same charge himself in person ; but execute the same by a deputy : the Master of the Post shall forthwith remove him, and take order for the placing of a sufficient man in his room.

Item. That it shall not be lawful [= *legal*] for any man riding

in Post by Commission, to take his horses of any man, but of the ordinary and standing Posts; or at their appointment: whose Commission ought to be signed, either by Her Majesty, three of Her Highness [Privy] Council, the Lord Treasurer of England, the Earl Marshal of England, the Lord Governor of Berwick or his Deputy, the Lord President of the North or his Deputy, the Wardens of the Northern Marches, Her Majesty's Secretary, and the Master of the Posts.

Item. That every one so riding Post by Commission for Her Majesty's service and affairs, shall pay One Penny, half Penny, the mile. But whosoever, upon any business urgent, shall be occasioned to ride in Post without Commission, he shall be likewise horsed by the standing Post of the place, or by his appointment: and of every such, for their [*the Post's*] relief, it shall be lawful for the Posts to take after the rate of Two Pence the mile.

Item. To this end, every Post shall be bound to keep a fair paper book, well bound; to register the names of all men so riding in Post (with the number of their horses, and [the] date of the[ir] Commission), as well without Commission as with Commission.

Item. If in case, that currers [*couriers*] shall come so thick, or in such number, that the Post's own furniture [*supply of horses*] shall not be able to suffice; then it shall be lawful for him to take up, or appoint such as have horses to hire, to supply his want. And to this end, he shall be assisted by the Mayors, Constables, and other Officers. [They] taking, in those cases, for the hire of those horses [the prices] as the Posts themselves are wont to do for their own.

Item. That no man riding in Post, shall ride without a guide: which shall blow his horn, so oft as he meeteth company, or passeth through any town, or at the least thrice every mile.

Item. That all Her Majesty's Posts may the better attend upon their charges and Offices, and faithfully perform the daily service thereto belonging: Her Majesty's pleasure is That they be exempted from all attendance at Assizes, Sessions, Inquests, and Musters.

Item. That no packets or letters shall be sufficient warrant or authority to constrain the Posts to run with them in Post; except they be directed for Her Majesty's affairs, and shall be signed

either by Her Majesty, her Privy Council, or any of the Personages authorised, and above named.

Item. That every Post do daily observe the Orders sometimes [*formerly*] set down by Her Majesty's Council, for [the] expedition of letters in Her Majesty's affairs, viz.

> That they ride in summer, accounting from the Annunciation of our Lady [25th March] to the feast of St MICHAEL the Archangel [29th September], Seven miles the hour
> And, in the winter, which is the rest of the year, Five miles the hour, as the way shall fall out.

Whereby, the Posts doing their duties, the Packet may be carried in summer between London and Berwick in forty-two hours [= 294 *miles*], and in winter, in three score [= 300 *miles.*]*

Lastly. It is hereby commanded that, from henceforth, if any Hackneyman, Ostlers, Tapsters, or others shall, contrary to this Order, directly or indirectly carry Packets ; or serve any horses with a guide or a horn, without the consent or the privity of the ordinary Post of the place, that then the Officer or Officers of the place, or the next Justice of the Peace, shall commit the same person or persons to prison, there to abide until they have put in sufficient bond and surety unto the said Post, for the keeping and observing of these Orders in time to come.

All which aforesaid Orders, Her Majesty straightly chargeth and commandeth all Justices of the Peace, Mayors, Sheriffs, Bailiffs, Constables, Headboroughs, and all others, her Officers and servants, to see observed as far as in them shall lie ; and to be aiding and assisting unto her said ordinary Posts for the due execution of the same, as they tender Her Majesty's service, and at their perils will answer to the contrary.

Lastly. Because, that, through the over great liberty of riding in Post, many inconveniences fall out, through the Hackneymen in Kent ; it shall be lawful for the Lord Warden of the Cinque Ports and the Master of the Posts to take order with the Posts between London and Dover in that behalf.

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* It will be seen from this, that the distance to Berwick was reckoned at 300 miles, instead of 337¼ miles.—E. A.

God save the Queen!

T. BROMLEY, *Canc[ellarius]*. W. [Lord] BURGHLEY. E. [Earl of] LINCOLN.
F. [Earl of] BEDFORD. R. [Earl of] LEICESTER. C. [Lord] HOWARD.
[Sir] F. KNOLLES. H. [Lord] HUNSDON.
[Sir] C. HATTON. [Sir] F. WALSINGHAM.

Imprinted at London, by CHRISTOPHER BARKER,
Printer to the Queen's most excellent Majesty.

Articles set down by the Right Worshipful THOMAS RANDOLPH, *Esquire, Master and Comptroller General of all Her Majesty's Posts; and straightly by him commanded to be kept by the Posts from London to the Northern Borders against Scotland, for the better observation and due execution of such Orders as lately were appointed by the Lords of Her Majesty's Privy Council.*

First. That every Post for the Service of the Packet for Her Majesty's affairs, shall have, in his stable, or in a readiness, throughout the year, three good and sufficient post horses, with saddles and furniture fit and belonging; three good and strong leather bags, well lined with baize or cotton, to carry the Packet in; and three horns, to blow by the way: as by their Lordships' Order is commanded. Whosoever shall fail hereof, at any time when they shall be surveyed, shall abide the punishment that the Master of the Posts shall lay upon him.

2. That every Post, so soon as the Packet directed for Her Majesty's affairs shall be brought unto him, shall forthwith, or within one quarter of an hour after, with all speed and diligence carry the same, or cause it to be carried, to the next Post: according to the Orders by their Lordships also set down. The breach of this Article shall also be punishable at the Master of the Posts' pleasure.

3. That every Post, either of his own, or such as he shall keep or appoint under him, shall have always in readiness four good and sufficient post horses, and two horns, to serve at all occasions for such as, either by Commission, or otherwise for better expedition, shall ride in Post. And if the number of horses [required] exceed their own furniture [*supply*], then that they supply their want as by their Lordships is provided for, and set down [in the preceding Order in Council].

4. That every Post, from henceforth, keep two fair paper Books, or one large and great one, as well to register the names, dates, and number of horses, of such as, either with Commission, or without, shall run the Post; as also to enter the Packets that, for Her Majesty's affairs, shall pass, and be carried by them. And the same shall signify, at the end of every month, or within ten days after, unto the Master of the Posts: and so often as he shall, upon occasions, either generally, or particularly, call and send for the same.

5. That no Post shall hazard, or send any Packets directed for Her Majesty's affairs, by any person whatsoever but by an express [*actual*] servant of his own, and that in Post: upon pain of forfeiture of one Quarter's wages for the first offence; whereof the half to be given to the Informer thereof whosoever, and the other half to be at the disposing of the Master of the Posts. And for the second offence, expulsion out of his Office: the same being duly proved against him.

6. That all Posts and guides riding with any Currior [*Courier* or Through Post, either with Commission, or without, shall bring the party so riding unto the house and dwelling place of the next standing Post, that is also to furnish him of fresh horses; or shall signify the same unto him, the party being a Personage, or Man of Sort, that, for his pleasure, will make choice of his lodging: and shall not suffer him, so riding, to pass the next ordinary stage, without the consent and liking of the Post of the place; upon pain of forfeiture of Ten Shillings to the Post offended, and a full restitution of so much as he should have gained.

7. Also, be it especially and duly observed by all Her Majesty's Posts, as they will answered to the contrary, That if any Innholder, Hackneymen, or others whatsoever, having horse[s] to hire, shall take upon him, contrary to their Lordships' Orders, to deliver any horses with horn and guide to any man running the Post, either with Commission, or without; without the knowledge and consent of the ordinary Post of the place where the horses were delivered, if any Post there be appointed: the Post of the next stage by whom he passeth, shall, in this case, stay [*detain*] and charge the Officer, with safe custody of the guide or conductor; and shall not deliver any horses to the party so riding, till notice be given, either to Her Majesty's Secretary [of State], or the Master of the Posts.

8. That no Post, or guide, ride without his horn: and the same

to blow as is prescribed by their Lordships; be it either with the Packet, or with Through Post. Neither shall he refuse to carry the mail, or other carriage [*luggage*] of the party riding behind him [*i.e. on another horse*], so that the same exceed not the weight of forty pounds at the utmost.

9. That no Post's servant or boy riding with the Packet, shall deliver any by-letters [*private letters*], or private packets, before he have first discharged himself of the Packet for Her Majesty's affairs, by delivering the same unto the hands of the next standing Post: unto whom also, he shall commit and deliver all the by-letters and private packets, as well as the other, upon pain of the forfeiture of Ten Shillings to the Post offended, and the displeasure of the Master of the Posts.

10. That no Post's servant, or boy, riding with the Packet, and having by-letters, or private packets, or other kind of carriage [*luggage*], committed unto them, shall adventure to open or break up, or any other ways, directly or indirectly, shall fraudulently embezzle or convey [away] the same wilfully: but shall safely deliver the same unto the hands of the next Post, as is above said. And whatsoever he be, that shall be found to be faulty herein, he shall lose his Master's service; and the Master shall underlie such punishment as the Master of the Posts shall find him worthy of.

11. Lastly. Because that the negligence of servants and boys hath always been the greatest cause of the former disorders; and that also to grow and fall out, through the small care and want of government in the Masters: these, therefore, for a warning in time to come, shall be to signify unto all the Posts in general, That whose servant or boy soever shall hereafter, either directly or indirectly, break, disobey, or be found faulty of, any of these Articles above said; the penalty and forfeiture thereof, shall lie upon the Master himself, without favour or remission.

And hereunto I will all Her Majesty's Posts to have a special care and regard, as they will answer to the contrary.

London, the 22nd January 1583[-4].

THOMAS RANDOLPH,
Comptroller of all Her Majesty's Posts.

Sir THOMAS RANDOLPH having died, JOHN STANHOPE was made Master of the Posts on 20th June 1590.

On the following 22nd August, he wrote the following letter to WILLIAM DAVISON; who had been lately one of the Secretaries of State to Queen ELIZABETH.

JOHN STANHOPE TO WILLIAM DAVISON.

OATLANDS; SATURDAY, 22 AUGUST /1 SEPTEMBER 1590.

Sir, How willingly I would yield to any [of] your requests, and how readily do you the best service I could; I hope, if ever you please to employ me, you shall not then need to doubt. And I protest I am heartily sorry that the party you write for, hath wronged both himself, and the respect I would have had to him for your sake, in estranging himself from me, and indirectly seeking either his continuance, or preferment to the place.

It is most true, that when old BREWSTER died, a kinsman near, cousin-german full to me, SAMUEL BEVERCOTES by name, a Lawyer [*Barrister*] of Gray's Inn, one I love and owe a better turn to, wrote earnestly unto me, praying me, for that he dwelt near in those parts, and that the Post [Master] was newly dead, that I would give him the credit to recommend one to the place, fit and sufficient, of good behaviour, and such as one as would give for it as any other should.

Sir, I assure you, I was glad I had any means to pleasure him; and presently [*at once*] returned him answer, That, if the place were void, I was willing to accept one from him, fit for that service.

Within a day or two, Master [THOMAS] MILLS (whom I use still, as Master RANDOLPH did, in this Office) coming to me; I told him of old BREWSTER's death, and my grant.

He answered me, He [had] heard nothing thereof: and yet his son [WILLIAM BREWSTER *afterwards the Ruling Elder*] was then presently in town, and had been with him the day before; but [Master MILLS] said, He would enquire: And returning to me, the next day, said, The young man was gone down: but he remembered Master RANDOLPH had accepted of him, in his lifetime, to exercise the place, for defaults of his father's weakness.

Presently I sent one to my cousin BEVERCOTES', to acquaint him therewith: who, going into the country, wrote unto me again, That most certainly I was abused in their part. Young BREWSTER had never used it in his father's life: nor had any hope now to have it, but by Master MILLS his means. He wrote further, That Master MILLS had written, as he was credibly advertised, to the Post of Doncaster and Tuxford, to win them to say, That he [WILLIAM BREWSTER] had admittance and use of the place in his father's time: which they refused to do as a thing untrue. Further, That he had lately given money to him [*Master MILLS*] for the place.

All this while, nor to this hour; I never heard one word from young BREWSTER. He neither came to me, being in town; nor sent to me, being absent: but, as though I were to be overruled by others, made his way according to his liking.

When my cousin, whom I trusted, did advertise me of this manner of dealing; and instantly required the admittance of him whom he nominated: I granted

thereto, and have written my letters accordingly; which went away but three days since.

Now, Sir, in whom the fault is; or how to redress my error committed herein: I pray you help me!

First, I know my interest such as, whether he had the place or no; I can displace him: and think him worthily displaced for his contempt of me, in not seeking me at all.

But if it be true, as I protest two or three besides my cousin have advertised me, that he never used the room [*Office*] in his father's life; besides, such gentlemen as went down with [EDWARD SOMERSET] my Lord of WORCESTER to Scotland [in June 1590] told me, the old man furnished them of horses, as they went; and, in their return, finding him dead, the widow told them, Her son was gone up to sue for the place: then have I done but like a kinsman to pleasure my cousin, without just offence to any.

Of Master RANDOLPH's promise to you for your man, I nothing doubt; because yourself write it: but that he was not placed presently [*at once*] upon that promise, that seems by their report.

Sir, in regard of you, I will seek to be better satisfied in the matter; and if I find cause, and may, without disgracing [to] my cousin and touch to myself, I will revoke my grant: if you shall not rest satisfied that he have any other [Postmastership] that shall fall void with the first.

And so, Sir, sorry I have troubled you with such circumstance [*details*], and with so ill a hand[writing]; being in bed for sloth, and yet willing to despatch your man [*messenger*]; I pray you believe of me as I have

written: and you shall hear and see ere long, what I will do to satisfy you.

And so, humbly recommending you to the Almighty I take my leave. This 22nd of August. Oatlands.

Yours most assured,

JOHN STANHOPE.

Sir, I will send you the letters [that] were sent me by a man of mine.

[Addressed] — To his honourable friend, Master Secretary DAVISON.

S. P. Dom. *Eliz.* Vol. 233, No. 48.

On this letter, Secretary DAVISON has made the following endorsement

That BREWSTER ought not [to] be displaced more than the rest of the Posts.

If he were possessed of the place by Master RANDOLPH'S gift, long before his father's death; and no good cause now to except against him; then ought he not more to be displaced than the rest of the Posts.

But he was possessed of the place by Master RANDOLPH'S gift long before his father's death; as may appear by the
- record of his name in the Roll, among the other Posts.
- by receipt of the fee, this year and a half.
- the testimony of
  - his Master [*i.e.* *W. DAVISON*] that recommended him thereunto.
  - Master MILLS, that was privy to the gift; and did both register his name, and pay him his wages.
- his exercise of the place now above a year and a half; which may be testified by the Posts his next neighbours.

Neither is there any just cause now to except against him, either in respect of his
- honesty,
- sufficiency for the Service,
- discharge thereof hitherto;
- or other reasons whatsoever.

Therefore he ought to be no more displaced than the rest of the Posts.

Other reasons.
- The charge he hath been at for provision, this hard year, for the Service.
- The loss he should sustain, or rather utter undoing, by being suddenly dispossessed.
- The harms of the example, &c.

S. P. Dom. *Eliz.* Vol. 233, No. 48.

Secretary DAVISON'S contention was evidently successful, though we cannot prove any payment to the future Ruling Elder earlier than on the 1st April 1594.

We now give the various payments to him; which occur under the heading of

SIR JOHN STANHOPE'S ACCOUNTS.
WAGES AND ENTERTAINMENT OF ORDINARY POSTS LAID BETWEEN LONDON AND BERWICK IN HER MAJESTY'S SERVICE, VIZ.:

Roll 2737. *Declared Accounts.* *Pipe Office.*

By the space of two whole years containing 731 days within the time of this Account, begun the first day of April 1590, 32 *Eliz.*; and ended the last day of March 1592, 34 *Eliz.*: both days included.

The POST of SCROOBY for his ordinary wages, serving Her Majesty all the time aforesaid, after the rate of 20d *per diem*, amounting to the sum of — £60, 18s. 4d.

The names of the Postmasters south of London are given in this Roll; but not of those on the Great North Road.

Roll 2738. *Declared Accounts.* *Pipe Office.*

By the space of two whole years beginning the first day of April 1592, 34 *Eliz.*; and ending the last day of March 1594, 36 *Eliz.*: both days reckoned inclusive.

The POST of SCROOBY for his ordinary wages serving Her Majesty all the time aforesaid, after the rate of 20d *per diem*, amounting to the sum of — £60, 16s. 8d.

The southern Postmasters are also named in this Roll; but not those on the Great North Road.

Roll 2739. *Declared Accounts.* *Pipe Office.*

By the space of three whole years begun the first of April 1594, and ended the last of March 1597, both days included, containing 1,096 days.

William Brewster, Post of Scrooby for his ordinary wages, serving Her Majesty, all the time aforesaid, at 20d *per diem.*	£91, 6s. 8d.

Roll 2740. *Declared Accounts.* *Pipe Office.*

By the space of two whole years begun the first of April 1597 and ended the last of March 1599, both days included.

William Brewster, Post of Scrooby, for his ordinary wages, serving Her Majesty, all the time aforesaid, at 20d *per diem.*	£60, 16s. 8d.

Roll 2741. *Declared Accounts.* *Pipe Office.*

For three whole years, containing 1096 days, begun the first of April 1599 and ended the last of March 1602.

William Brewster, Post of Scrooby, for his like wages, at 20d *per diem*, for the same time.	£91, 6s. 8d.

Roll 2742. *Declared Accounts.* *Pipe Office.*

William Brewster, Post of Scrooby, for his wages, as well at 20d *per diem*, for 456 days, begun the first of April 1602 and ended the last of June 1603, £38; as also at 2s *per diem*, for 640 days, beginning the first of July 1603 and ended the last of March 1605, £64: in all the sum of	£102, 0s. 0d.

Roll 2743. *Declared Accounts.* *Pipe Office.*

For two whole years, containing 730 days, begun the first of April 1605 and ended the last of March 1607.

William Brewster, Post of Scrooby, for his wages, at 2s *per diem*, for the said time	£73, 0s. 0d.

Roll 2744. *Declared Accounts.* *Pipe Office.*

William Brewster, Post of Scrooby, for his wages, at 2s *per diem*, for 183 days, begun the first of April 1607 and ended the last of September *1607, £18, 6s; and then Francis Hall succeeding him at 2s *per diem* for 548 days, begun the first of October 1607 and ended the last of March 1609, £54, 16s	£73, 2s. 0d.

* Most unfortunately the Roll is now damaged; and is only readable in bits from here. We have therefore given the rest of this entry from the print made of it in 1854, by Mr Joseph Hunter, at p. 68 of his *Collections concerning the Founders of New Plymouth.*

This date, the 30th September [1607], about which there is no doubt, is most important in our Story; because it is the *anterior* date of the Flight of the Pilgrims into Holland.

Brewster would naturally hold his appointment up to the very last moment practicable; so the painful experience that the Pilgrims passed through at Boston, as described at pp. 88, 89, must have occurred in October, or November, 1607.

CHAPTER VII.

The Flight into Holland.
[? October], 1607—[? August] 1608.

BEING thus constrained to leave their native soil and country, their lands and livings, and all their friends and familiar acquaintance: it was much, and thought marvellous by many. But to go into a country they knew not, but by hearsay; where they must learn a new language, and get their livings they knew not how; it [also] being a dear place, and subject to the miseries of war: it was by many thought [to be] an adventure almost desperate, a case intollerable, and a misery worse than death. Especially seeing they were not acquainted with trades [*handicrafts*] or traffic, by which that country doth subsist: but had only been used to a plain country life, and the innocent trade of husbandry.

But these things did not dismay them, though they did sometimes trouble them: for their desires were set on the Ways of GOD, and to enjoy his Ordinances.

But they rested on his Providence; and knew whom they had believed [2 Tim. i. 12].

Yet this was not all. For though they could not stay; yet were they not suffered to go: but the ports and havens were shut against them. So as they were

fain to seek secret means of conveyance; and to bribe and fee the mariners, and give extraordinary rates for their passages.

And yet were they oftentimes betrayed, many of them; and both they and their goods intercepted and surprised, and thereby put to great trouble and charge.

Of which I will give an instance or two; and omit the rest:

There was a large company of them purposed [*in ? October*, 1607] to get passage at Boston in Lincolnshire; and for that end, had hired a ship wholly to themselves, and made agreement with the Master to be ready at a certain day, and take them and their goods in, at a convenient place: where they accordingly would all attend in readiness.

So, after long waiting and large expenses, though he kept not day [*his appointed time*] with them; yet he came at length, and took them in, in the night. But when he had them, and their goods aboard; he betrayed them: having beforehand complotted with the Searchers and other Officers so to do. Who took them, and put them into open boats; and there rifled and ransacked them: searching them to their shirts for money; yea, even the women further than became modesty.

And then carried them back into the town [of Boston], and made them a spectacle and [a] wonder to the multitude; which came flocking on all sides to behold them.

Being thus first by these catchpole Officers rifled and stripped of their money, books, and much other goods; they were presented to the Magistrates [of the locality]: and messengers [were] sent to inform the

Lords of the [Privy] Council of them; and so they were committed to ward.

Indeed, the Magistrates used them courteously, and shewed them what favour they could; but could not deliver them till order came from the [Privy] Council table. But the issue was that, after a month's imprisonment, the greatest part were dismissed; and sent to the places from whence they came: but Seven of the principal were still kept in prison, and bound over to the Assizes.

The next Spring after [1608], there was another attempt made by some of these, and others, to get over at another place. And it so fell out, that they light of [*alighted on*] a Dutchman at Hull; having a ship of his own, belonging to Zealand. They made agreement with him, and acquainted him with their condition: hoping to find more faithfulness in him, than in the former [Master] of their own nation.

He bade them not fear; for he would do well enough.

He was, by appointment, to take them in between Grimsby and Hull [in the mouth of the Humber], where was a large common a good way distant from any town.

Now, against the prefixed time, the women and children, with the goods, were sent to the place in a small Bark; which they had hired for that end: and the men were to meet them by land. But it so fell out, that they were there a day before the ship came: and the sea being rough, and the women very sick; [the women] prevailed with the seamen to put into a creek hard by; where they lay on ground at low water.

The next morning, the ship came: but they [in the Bark] were fast, and could not stir till about noon.

In the meantime, the ship Master, perceiving how the matter was, sent his boat, to be getting the men aboard; whom he saw ready, walking about the shore. But, after the first boat full [*including evidently* WILLIAM BRADFORD] was got aboard, and she was ready to go for more; the Master espied a great company, both horse and foot, with bills [*spears with a double-edged sword at the top of each of them*] and guns, and other weapons: for the country [*Country, here meaning the north-eastern part of Lincolnshire*] was raised to take them. The Dutchman seeing that, swore his country's oath, *Sacremente!*; and, having the wind fair, weighed his anchor, hoisted sails, and away!

But the poor men, which were got aboard, were in great distress for their wives and children; which they saw thus to be taken, and were left destitute of their helps: and [for] themselves also, not having a cloth to shift them with [*a change of clothing*], more than they had on their backs; and some, scarce a penny about them; all they had being aboard the Bark. It drew tears from their eyes; and anything they had, they would have given to have been ashore again: but all in vain. There was no remedy. They must thus sadly part.

And, afterwards, [they] endured a fearful storm at sea, being fourteen days or more before they arrived at their port; in seven whereof, they neither saw sun, moon, nor stars: and were driven near the coast of Norway. The mariners themselves often despairing of life: and once, with shrieks and cries, gave over all; as if the ship had been foundered in the sea, and they sinking without recovery. But when man's hope and

help wholly failed; the LORD's power and mercy appeared in their recovery: for the ship rose again, and gave the mariners courage again to manage her.

And if modesty would suffer me [*BRADFORD was therefore on board*], I might declare with what fervent prayers, they cried unto the LORD in this great distress. Especially some of them, even without any great distraction, when the water ran into their mouths and ears; and the mariners cried out, "We sink! We sink!": they cried, if not with miraculous, yet with a great height, or degree, of divine faith, "Yet LORD, thou canst save! Yet LORD, thou canst save!"; with such other expressions as I will forbear [to mention].

Upon which, the ship did not only recover; but shortly after, the violence of the storm began to abate: and the LORD filled their afflicted minds with such comforts as every one cannot understand. And, in the end, brought them to their desired haven: where the people came flocking admiring [*wondering at*] their deliverance; the storm having been so long and sore. In which, much hurt had been done; as the Master's friends related unto him, in their congratulations.

But to return to the others, where we left [them]. The rest of the men, that were in [the] greatest danger, made shift to escape away before the troops could surprise them: those only staying that best might be assistant unto the women. But pitiful it was to see the heavy case of these poor women in this distress. What weeping and crying on every side! Some for their husbands that were carried away in the ship, as is before related. Others not knowing what should become of them and their little ones. Others again melted in tears, seeing their poor little ones hanging about them; crying for fear, and quaking with cold.

Being thus apprehended, they were hurried from one place to another; and from one Justice [of the Peace] to another: till, in the end, they knew not what to do with them. For to imprison so many women and innocent children, for no other cause, many of them, but that they must go with their husbands, seemed to be unreasonable: and all would cry out of them. And to send them home again was as difficult; for they alledged, as the truth was, they had no homes to go to: for they had either sold, or otherwise disposed of, their houses and livings.

To be short, after they had been thus turmoiled a good while; and conveyed from one Constable to another: they were glad to be rid of them in the end upon any terms; for all were wearied and tired with them.

Though, in the mean time, they, poor souls! endured misery enough: and thus, in the end, necessity forced a way for them.

But that I be not tedious in these things, I will omit the rest: though I might relate many other notable passages and troubles which they endured and underwent, in these their wanderings and travels both at land and sea. But I haste to other things.

Yet I may not omit the fruit that came hereby. For by these so public troubles, in so many eminent places, their Cause became famous; and occasioned many to look into the same: and their godly character and Christian behaviour was such, as left a deep impression in the minds of many. And though some few shrank at these first conflicts and sharp beginnings, as it was no marvel; yet many more came on with fresh courage, and greatly animated others.

And, in the end, notwithstanding all these storms of opposition, they all gat over at length. Some at one time, and some at another; and some in one place and some in another: and met together again, according to their desires, with no small rejoicing. *Bradford Manuscript,* folios 31-39.

Let us now look at the management of these two Exoduses.

It was the law of England, that no one could go out of the Kingdom without the King's license. When MILTON went abroad in 1639, he obtained a license for himself and his servant, as a matter of course. But what sense there could be in hindering the emigration of Separatists; whom we have seen, at pp. 35, 36, from 1593 to 1598, were banished by law: it is hard to understand.

The first thing to notice is, that the Idle is navigable for boats from Scaftworth, where it is the size of a large canal; to West Stockwith, where it flows into the Trent. Early in this century, coals were brought up the Idle, in flat bottom barges towed by horses, to Bawtry: and this traffic went on till railway competition killed it.

The women, children, and luggage could therefore easily be sent by water as far as Gainsborough: which place is 55 miles from Boston. In some way or another, they managed to reach the river Witham near Boston; and embarking in the night, were betrayed on board, by the Master, the morning. That scoundrel seems to have acted as if these Separatists, in going out of the English Church, had gone beyond the protection of English law; and were therefore only to be plundered.

In those days, a journey on foot of 50 miles was quite as great a feat as one of 3,000 miles by rail would be now. These inland Nottinghamshire people would be utter strangers in many things to the Boston people.

It must ever be remembered that the Boston Magistrates befriended the Pilgrims, so far as they could.

The next time, in the Spring of 1608, the Pilgrims organized better: but they were still unfortunate.

The women, children, and goods probably reached the Trent, by the Idle, as before: and there they were put in the Bark.

The Trent at Gainsborough flows at about eight miles an hour; though many of its affluents, like the Idle, are sluggish in their current.

It is 30 miles from Gainsborough to the mouth of the Trent; 22 miles from thence, to Hull; and 20 miles from Hull to Great Grimsby: or, in all, 72 miles.

Where then was the creek where the Bark lay on ground at low water; and "where was a large common a good way distant from any town?"

Local opinion would seem to favour East Halton Skitter haven, in Lat. 53°, 41′, 30″; because that is the only break in the specified coast line of Lincolnshire viz. between Hull and Great Grimsby: from which latter place it is distant some twenty miles.

If so, the Bark went down the Trent, 30 miles; and then some 20 miles or so along the coast: while the men must have walked fully forty miles from West Stockwith to East Halton Skitter.

When this attempt had also so unfortunately failed; the Pilgrims gave up all thoughts of any combined emigration: and stole over to Amsterdam, in small parties.

CHAPTER VIII.

The Entries in Zachary Clifton's Family *Bible*.

N the Finch Collection of the Library of the Taylorean Institution at Oxford, Press-mark, W. 164, there is a copy of the *Bible*, Geneva Version (which is usually called the "Breeches *Bible*," from its translation of Genesis iii. 7), that was printed at London, in quarto, by the Deputies of Christopher Barker, in 1599.

This Volume was the Family *Bible* of the Zachary Clifton, the son of the Rector of Babworth, afterwards the Pastor of the Separatist Church at Scrooby; whose name, as printed in books, is spelt Richard Clyfton: but in these entries, the family name is uniformly spelt Clifton.

Of these entries, the following is a *line for line* modernised reprint:

Thomas Clifton, of Normanton, in the county of Derby, had issue by his first wife, 3 sons, Richard, Edward, and John; and 4 daughters, Jane, Elinor, Ann, and Dorothy: and by his second wife, 2 sons, Steven and William; and 1 daughter, Jane.

Richard, eldest son to Thomas Clifton, and born at Normanton abovesaid, married Ann, daughter of I. Stuffen of Wor[k]sop, in the county of Nottingham, September *anno* 1586. He was Minister and Preacher of the Gospel at Babworth in the said county; and had issue, by his wife, 3 sons, Zachary, Timothy, and Eleazer; and 3 daughters, Mary, Hanna, and Priscilla: all born at Babworth abovesaid.

Mary, born August, *anno* 1587; and died September following.

Zachary, born May 12, 1589. [*He died May* 26, 1671; *see entry below.*]

Hanna, born January , *anno* 1590; and died 24 March, *anno* 1602.

Priscilla, born April 1593; and died May following.

Timothy, born 29 September 1595. He died at Amsterdam, June 7 1663.

ELEAZAR, born 1 November 1598. He died at Amsterdam, January 18 1668.

Memorandum. RICHARD CLIFTON, with his wife and children, came into Amsterdam, in Holland, August 1608.
ANN, wife of the said RICHARD, died at Amsterdam, 3 September *anno* 1613; and was buried in the South Church: *vixit annos* 58.
RICHARD CLIFTON died at Amsterdam, 20 May 1616; and was buried in the South Church: *vixit annos* 63.

ZACHARY, son of RICHARD CLIFTON above named, married MARY the daughter of ARTHUR HOPPS [by his first wife DOROTHY JOHNSON] of Richmond, in the county of York, February 16, *anno* 1617; and had issue by her, 2 sons, ISRAEL and ZACHARY, both born at Richmond aforesaid.
ISRAEL, born 2 January, *anno* 1620; and died 28 September, *anno* 1622.
ZACHARY, born May 4, *anno* 1624; and died 25 July, *anno* 1629.
Memorandum. MARY, wife of the aforesaid ZACHARY CLIFTON was born at Richmond before named, March 25, *anno* 1598; and died there, 30 October 1625: *vixit annos* 26, *menses* 7, *dies* 5.

ZACHARY CLIFTON took for his second wife, ELIZABETH WAYT, daughter LAURENCE and KATHERINE WAYT of Cookridge near Leeds, in Yorkshire, and was married at Amsterdam, 22 April 1631. He had issue by his said wife, these children, born at Amsterdam: viz. ELIZABETH, ZACHARY, ELEAZAR, ELIZABETH, MARY, ISRAEL, RICHARD, ELIZABETH MARTHA, HANNA. *Memorandum.* They were all born such a day of the month, *stylo novo.*
ELIZABETH, born 14 January 1632. She died 2 February following.
ZACHARY, born 10 May 1633. [*Afterwards Rector of Wisbrough Green, co. Suss.*]
ELEAZAR, born 15 October 1635. He died at Rotterdam, June 9 1667.
ELIZABETH, born 11 September 1637. She died 23 February 1638.
MARY, born 28 September 1639. She died, unbaptized, 2 October following.
ISRAEL, born 6 March 1641. He died 14 of the same.
RICHARD, born 25 November 1642. He died 10 November (Old Style) 1664.
ELIZABETH, born 7 June 1644. She died 22 August following.
MARTHA, born 4 November 1645. She died 27 January 1646.
HANNA, born 26 June 1648. She died 18 April 1671.

Memorandum. RICHARD, son of ZACHARY CLIFTON by ELIZABETH his wife, died at Newcastle upon Tyne, the 10th of November, *anno* 1664: and was buried there at Allhallows Church, in the North Alley, near the Quire door; by the burial place of Doctor NEWTON; and next to it, on the north side.
ELEAZER, son of ZACHARY CLIFTON by ELIZABETH

his wife, died at Rotterdam in Holland, the 9th of June (*Stylo Novo*), *anno* 1667; and was buried there in the French Church.

HANNAH, daughter of ZACHARY and ELIZABETH CLIFTON abovesaid, died at Newcastle, April 18th 1671; and was buried there in Allhallows Church, by [*besides*] her brother RICHARD.

ZACHARY CLIFTON, son of RICHARD CLIFTON died at Newcastle, 26 of May 1671: was buried in Allhallows Church, Newcastle, May the 29th 1671, *anno ætatis* 82.

Memorandum. I came from Amsterdam 1 November 1652; and came to Newcastle 4th January following.

my wife with R. and H. came from Amsterdam, 29 March 1653. they came to Newcastle, May 6 following.

We went to house[keeping] at Newcastle, June 6, 1653.

The importance of the above entries in regard to our Story, lies in the statement that the Rev. RICHARD CLYFTON, the Pastor of the Scrooby Church, arrived with his family at Amsterdam, in August 1608.

As Governor BRADFORD tells, at page 142, "Now when Master ROBINSON, Master BREWSTER, and other principal members were come over [to Amsterdam] (for they were of the last, and stayed to help the weakest over before them)"; and as the Rev. RICHARD CLYFTON was the Pastor and senior Clergyman of the Scrooby Congregation, though (from the omission of his name here by BRADFORD) possibly not its leading spirit: we must accept the date of the arrival of himself and his family at Amsterdam, August 1608, as the *posterior* date of the Exodus from Scrooby.

CHAPTER IX.

The British Churches in Amsterdam.

THERE were, in one way or another, at different periods in the life time of the Rev. John Robinson, no less than seven religious Communities of Englishmen and Scotchmen in Amsterdam. We will take them in the order of date.

That poor English congregation in Amsterdam, to whom H. C., for the present, administereth the gospel. 1597—1599 [, or even later].

Very little is known of this Church; and that little is found in the Works of the Rev. Henoch Clapham before 1600. It was, however, clearly in existence before the reorganisation in that city of the Ancient exiled English Church in September 1597; and it certainly lasted till 1599, if not later.

Let us see what this Clergyman wrote of himself, after he had renounced the "Holy Discipline," in 1600.

In my first looking after Religion, my lot was to associate with such only as only tasted and affected another kind of Ministry: which, as they said, yet we had not in England. And that they termed the Ministry of Pastor, Doctor, Elders, Deacons, Widows, due to every particular [*separate*] Church.

Those words, I soon learned: as also, That the Pastor was to exhort; the Doctor, to teach and deliver doctrine; the Elders, to govern and exercise the disciplinal censures in common with the Pastor and Doctor; the Deacons, only to attend the poor and Love Feasts; the Widows, to wait on the sick.

All this so hanging together, [that] except I would practice contrary to my persuasion (as many deceitfully have done), out of the land I must! as I loved my liberty.

I did so. First, into the Low Countries I went: afterwards, into Scotland. After that, again into the Low Countries: then again into Scotland. And once again into the Netherlands &c. Sometimes hauled by this faction; sometimes hauled by that faction.

But, the LORD being merciful unto me, howsoever I was notably distract[ed] about external Church Government; yet, as all my printed books will testify, I kept me ever fast unto the main point —that is, unto the foundation of the Gospel I had before here received, and had, in Lancashire, for some two years [1591—1593], publicly ministered: being before, now some nine years since [1591], ordained fully thereto [*i.e. took Priest's Orders*] by Bishop [WILLIAM] WICKHAM, then Bishop of LINCOLN. *Antidoton; or a sovereign Remedy against Schism and Heresy*, pp. 1, 2, London, 1600, 4.

CLAPHAM dedicates his *Sin against the HOLY GHOST*, Amsterdam, 1598, 4, "to his faithful Brethren, a poor Remnant of the ever Visible Catholic and Apostolic Church, ABRAHAM CROTTENDINE, JOHN JOOPE, HUGH ARMOURER, CHRISTOPHER SYMKINS, THOMAS FARRAT, ABRAHAM WAKEFIELD, &c."

One of these Brethren, JOHN JOOPE, published at Amsterdam, in 1599, *The Description of a true Visible Christian*; and, in the *Preface*, he tells us, that this Work is Chapter III. of a book by the Rev. HENOCH CLAPHAM, consisting of 26 Chapters: which book apparently was never printed.

In October 1607, CLAPHAM was made Vicar of Northbourne in Kent; and held that Living till his death in 1614.

THE ANCIENT EXILED ENGLISH CHURCH. 1597—1610.

So much of the history of this Community as concerns our present Story will be found in the next Chapter.

THE SCOTCH PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH. 1607—THE PRESENT DAY.

On the 5th February 1607, the Rev. JOHN PAGET preached his first Sermon at the Scotch Presbyterian Church in the Begyn Hof, Amsterdam; of which Church he was Minister till his death in 1636. Rev. WILLIAM STEVEN. *The History*

of the Scottish Church, Rotterdam. With Notices of the other British Churches in the Netherlands, pp. 273, 279, Edinburgh, 1833, 8.

This Church has continued to the present time.

THE GAINSBOROUGH CHURCH. 1608—1609.

The history of this body, while united, in this city, will be found in Chapter XI.

THE SCROOBY CHURCH. 1608—1609.

The experiences of this Church at Amsterdam are described by Governor BRADFORD in Chapter XII.

MASTER THOMAS HELWYS'S COMPANY. 1609—1613.

In 1609, before the 12th March; the Gainsborough Church divided asunder: and the majority, headed by the Rev. THOMAS HELWYS, drave out a minority of thirty-two persons, headed by the Rev. JOHN SMYTH. See pp. 137, 140.

MASTER JOHN SMYTH'S COMPANY. 1609—1615.

Some account of this Church, at the "Great Cake House," will be found at pp. 137-140.

THE REV. FRANCIS JOHNSON'S CHURCH. 1610—1619.

On the 15/25 December 1610, the Ancient exiled Church split into two sections. Those who adhered to the Rev. FRANCIS JOHNSON were called the Franciscans. Some notices of this period of their career will be found at pp. 125, 126, 129, 130, 277-279, 290: but not very much is known of it.

THE REV. HENRY AINSWORTH'S CHURCH. 1610—1701.

The other section of the Ancient exiled Church survived all the other English Separatist Communities in Amsterdam. They were called the Ainsworthians until their Pastor's death in the Spring of 1623. The Rev. JOHN CANNE the Elder was afterwards their Minister. Their remnant were finally absorbed in the Scotch Presbyterian Church above mentioned, about the 10th April 1701.

CHAPTER X.

The scandalous Ancient exiled English Church at Amsterdam. 1595—1623.

In perils among false brethren. 2 Cor. xi. 26.

Religion is the best thing: and the corruption of it the worst. Neither hath greater mischief and villainy ever been found amongst men—Jews, Gentiles, or Christians—than that which hath marched under the Flag of Religion; either [Religion] intended by the seduced, or pretended by hypocrites. Rev. John Robinson, *Observations Divine and Moral*, p. 40, Ed. 1625, 4.

WE are now come to the most painful part of this book—the scandalous proceedings in the Ancient exiled English Church at Amsterdam. That Community consisted of knaves and dupes. Doubtless many of the latter were well-intentioned Christians; though greatly misled. Of course, we must speak of this Church as a whole.

We shall not dwell upon this disagreeable subject here longer than is absolutely necessary: but will rather refer to the authorities where the fuller details will be found. It is not an actual part of the Pilgrim Story: but yet the Scrooby Church sojourned amongst them (though they were not of them) for a year or so.

These scandals, the "some other reasons" of Governor Bradford, were the cause that constrained the Pilgrims to uproot themselves for a second time; and that at *any* cost, in their pursuit not only of peace, but also of moral purity. In a large commercial city like Amsterdam, there were many more possible ways of getting a living than in a smaller University town like Leyden. If they had sought peace only, they

might easily have formed a Third exiled English Church at Amsterdam; and still kept to their livelihoods in that city, a very important matter. But, once more, they threw up everything for principle; and migrated to Leyden to avoid not simply the quarrels in the Ancient Church: but also, we think, the moral pollution that was rampant in it. Surely, never did men more strenuously strive to do what they thought to be right, and that in the most peaceable possible way, than did the Pilgrim Church.

The history of this ancient Reformist Church at Amsterdam is one of the saddest chapters in the annals of Protestantism. It was established upon what were then considered to be the newest principles. It was based solely upon the rational study of the Scriptures. It was to be an object lesson to the whole World of what the Christian Church of the Future, in all its purity holiness and usefulness, was to be. Especially was it to be a most vigorous protest against the Church at home. It was the most notable English Christian Community on the Continent, that was *completely* organised on the lines of the "Holy Discipline." Whereas the other Separatist Churches abroad, the Pilgrim Church alone excepted, usually vanished away in a few years; this Ancient one actually subsisted unbroken for thirteen years [1597—1610] together.

Yet, notwithstanding all this, the history of this Society is nothing but a tissue of folly, wrongheadedness, and violence; of hypocrisy, wrangling, and immorality: so that its members became quite odious to the inhabitants of Amsterdam.

The early days of the Ancient English Church. 1592—1597.

THE Ancient Church began with its first Pastor, the Rev. Francis Johnson; of whom Governor Bradford gives the following remarkable account. One might almost say, That such sudden conversions, either to good or to evil, were characteristic of that Age.

Doctor [William] Ames was estranged from, and opposed Master Robinson*; and yet afterwards there was loving compliance and near agreement between them.

And, which is more strange, Master [Francis] Johnson himself, who was afterwards Pastor of the Church of GOD at Amsterdam, was a Preacher to the Company of the English [Merchants] of the Staple at Middelburg in Zealand; and had great and certain maintenance (£200 *per annum*) allowed him by them, and was highly respected by them.

And [he] was so zealous against this Way as that [when] Master Barrow and Master Greenwood's [*A plain*] *Refutation of Master Gifford*['*s book, intituled* A short Treatise against the Donatists of England] was privately in printing in this city, he not only was a means to discover it; but was made the [English] Ambassador's Instrument to intercept them at the press, and see them burnt.

The which charge he did so well perform, as he let them go on until they were wholly finished; and then surprised the whole impression, not suffering any to escape: and then, by the Magistrate's authority, caused them all to be openly burnt; [he] himself standing by, until they were all consumed to ashes. Only he took up two of them: one to keep in his own study, that he

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* The correspondence between them, before 1612, will be found at pp. 47-54 of *The profane Schism &c.* The Rev. John Robinson, in the *Preface* to his *Religious Communion* of 1614, writes "Now as I neither am, nor would be thought, insensible of this unchristian enmity," in publishing "certain private letters passing between him and me, about private communion [*joining in private worship, as in Prayer Meetings*] betwixt the members of the true Visible Church and others."

might see their errors; and the other to bestow on a special friend, for the like use.

But mark the sequel. When he had done this work, he went home: and being set down in his study, he began to turn over some pages of this book, and superficially to read some things here and there, as his fancy led him. At length, he met with something that began to work upon his spirit; which so wrought with him as [it] drew him to this resolution, seriously to read over the whole book: the which he did once and again.

In the end, he was so taken, and his conscience was troubled so, as he could have no rest in himself until he crossed the seas, and came to London, to confer with the Authors [? *in the summer of* 1592]; who were then in prison, and [were] shortly after executed [6th April 1593].

After which conference, he was so satisfied and confirmed in the truth, as he never returned to his place any more at Middelburg; but adjoined himself to their Society in London [*of which he was elected the Pastor in September* 1592]: and was afterwards [on 5th December 1592] committed to prison [*in the Clink Prison*]; and then [in 1597] banished.

And, in conclusion, coming to live at Amsterdam, he caused the same books, which he had been an Instrument to burn, to be new printed and set out [in 1605], at his own charge.

And some of us here present testify this to be a true Relation; which we heard from his own mouth, before many witnesses.

A very grave man he was, and an able teacher: and was the most solemn, in all his administrations, that we have seen any; and especially in dispensing the Seals of the Covenant, both Baptism and the LORD's Supper.

A good disputant he was. We heard Master [JOHN] SMYTH, upon occasion, say, That he was persuaded no men living were able to maintain a Cause against those two men, meaning Master JOHNSON and Master AINSWORTH, if they had not the truth on their side.

He—by reason of many dissensions that fell out in the Church; and the subtilty of [DANIEL STUDLEY,] one of the [Ruling] Elders of the same—came, after many years [, in 1609], to alter his judgement about the Government of the Church, and his practice thereupon: which caused a division among them [on 15/25 December 1610].

But he lived not many years after; and died at Amsterdam [in January 1618], after his return from Emden. *First Dialogue &c.* [Written in 1648.] Printed in A. YOUNG's *Chronicles of the Pilgrim Fathers*, pp. 423-425, 445, 1841, 8.

Here then, we think that Governor BRADFORD is perfectly untrustworthy in his charitable estimate of character. It is true that he does not say very much in his favour; but the general impression of it all is that JOHNSON was a Saint: whereas, in this book, he is abundantly proved to be a most remarkable Sinner. He was an arrogant, wrongheaded, irascible man; an unnatural son, &c.: anything, in fact, but a Christian Gentleman. In addition to which, and apart from all personal failings; he was the responsible head of a Society which became an abomination to the citizens of Amsterdam.

JOHNSON's character was therefore inconsistent: having some good points; but many more bad ones.

Harleian MS. 7042 consists of the BAKER Transcripts from the Manuscripts (now lost) of the Lord Keeper of the Great Seal, Sir JOHN PUCKERING; who died on 30th April 1596.

From these Transcripts we learn (, fols. 30, 60, 61, 63) that the Ancient Church was constituted, in September 1592, at the house of one FOX in Nicholas lane, London, with the following Officers:

Pastor.	FRANCIS JOHNSON.
Teacher.	JOHN GREENWOOD. [Hanged on 6th April following.]
Ruling Elders.	DANIEL STUDLEY and GEORGE KNIVETON.
Prophets.	[Not stated.]
Deacons.	CHRISTOPHER BOWMAN and NICHOLAS LEE.
Widows or Deaconesses.	[? None.]

This is further confirmed by the following passage from page 429 of *A Survey of the pretended "Holy Discipline,"*

anonymously written by RICHARD BANCROFT, then Bishop of LONDON; and published in London, in 1593, in quarto.

One COLLINS, a man amongst them, not unlearned as it seemeth, doth write in this sort hereof: "*Ecclesia potenti ejus dextra adjuta &c.* 'The Church, assisted with the mighty hand of GOD' hath chosen Ministers. Master JOHNSON for her Pastor; Master GREENWOOD for her Doctor; Master STUDLEY and Master GEORGE KNIFE[TON, *or* KNIVETON], for Elders; NICHOLAS LEE and CHRISTOPHER BOWMAN for her Deacons.

"The other Assembly also (whereunto are added JOHN NICHOLAS, THOMAS MICHELL, JOHN BARNES, and some others, with me) with GOD's assistance, will begin, out of hand, to create unto itself Ministers."

So there were two Groups of Separatists in London in September 1592.

Harleian MS. 7042 contains the Answers to a number of Interrogatories put to these men, on or about 2/12 or 4/14 April 1593; in which are the following descriptions.

FRANCIS JOHNSON, a Minister, of the age of 31 years; of uncertain abode.

GEORGE JOHNSON, late Schoolmaster in St Nicholas lane, London, born in Richmondshire in the county of York, of the age of 29 years. He was taken in an assembly of people in a wood beyond Islington.

GEORGE KNIVETON, of Newgate Market, an Apothecary, of the age of years. He was made Elder half a year ago [*i.e. in September* 1592].

CHRISTOPHER BOWMAN, a Goldsmith, doth dwell in West Smithfield, of the age of 32 years. Was chosen a Deacon in September last. He was imprisoned five years past [in 1588], for putting up a *Petition* to the Queen's Majesty; and continued in prison four years [1588—1592] for the same. He was married in JOHN PENRY's house. EDWARD SETTLE [*the Separatist Pastor before JOHNSON*] did pray; and JOHN GREENWOOD was present.

EDWARD BOYS, a Haberdasher, dwelling in Fleet street, of the age of 33 years.

All this Church organization was a flat defiance of the Hierarchy.

On 5/15 December 1592, FRANCIS JOHNSON and JOHN GREENWOOD were arrested at EDWARD BOYS's house.

On 4/14 March 1592/1593, fifty-six, including GEORGE JOHNSON, were arrested in the wood beyond Islington.

The Bishops kept the leaders in prison: EDWARD SETTLE, in the Gate House; FRANCIS JOHNSON, in the Clink; GEORGE JOHNSON, in the Fleet; DANIEL STUDLEY, in Newgate, &c.

The rest of the Church gradually emigrated, in 1593-4, to Holland: at first, to Kampen; then, to Naarden; and finally, by 1595, to Amsterdam.

About September 1594, FRANCIS JOHNSON married THOMASINE BOYS, the well-to-do Widow of the above mentioned EDWARD BOYS, the Haberdasher: and thereby commenced the Old Clothes Controversy which is described in the next Chapter.

On 25 March /4 April 1597, the Privy Council of England directed that FRANCIS JOHNSON and DANIEL STUDLEY should be put on board the *Hopewell*; and GEORGE JOHNSON and JOHN CLARKE put on board the *Chancewell*. These two vessels formed a fruitless Expedition to Rainea [*The Magdalen Isles, in the Gulf of St Lawrence*]. [R. HAKLUYT, *Voyages &c.*, iii. 242-249, Ed. 1810, 4.], and left Gravesend on Friday 8/18 April 1597. The *Chancewell* was wrecked on the 23 June /3 July following: and the *Hopewell* was back in the British Channel on 1/11 September next.

Landing at Southampton, the four Separatists stole over to Amsterdam: where the Ancient Church was reconstituted with the following Officers, about September 1597.

Pastor.	FRANCIS JOHNSON.
Teacher.	HENRY AINSWORTH.
Ruling Elders.	DANIEL STUDLEY, GEORGE KNIVETON, and Master SLADE. [Later on, there was also JEAN DE L'ECLUSE.]

Prophets.	Thomas Cocky. Jacob Johnson.
Deacon.	Christopher Bowman.
Widow or Deaconess.	[Governor Bradford describes this "ancient widow" at page 172; but does not tell us her name.]

George Johnson.

1592—1603.

THE first idea of the Separatist Churches seems to have been that — in order to maintain the requisite high standard of purity of life—there should be a perpetual scrutiny of each other's faults: so that every one was to be a spy on all the rest, and to be ever bringing them to book. What a base conception of the Christian life!

Robert Browne's Church, in 1582—1583, was greatly afflicted in this way; so that existence there became a positive torment.

The same conception marked the early days, at least, of the Ancient exiled English Church: so that there has come down to us, a most wonderful literary monument of this vulgar nagging spirit, in the following Work.

A Discourse of some Troubles and Excommunications in the banished English Church at Amsterdam.

Printed at Amsterdam. 1603, 4.

This book is printed in Dutch black letter; and breaks off abruptly at page 214; through the death in prison of the Author.

It was strenuously hunted for, for above sixty years together; but in vain: so that it was quite given up for a lost book.

However, in 1872, Doctor H. Martyn Dexter, with the kind help of Mr William Aldis Wright, then Librarian, now Vice-Master, of Trinity College, Cambridge, after a long search, found a copy in that College Library. Press-mark, C. 4, 53.

This year, 1896, we have found another copy in the Library of Sion College, London. Press-mark, A. 69, 3.

These are the only two copies at present known.

The Rev. FRANCIS JOHNSON, about September 1594, married, in the Clink Prison, a well-to-do Widow, Mistress THOMASINE BOYS, the relict of EDWARD BOYS the Haberdasher in Fleet Street above referred to. She was fond, as a haberdasher's Widow might well be, of being well dressed; the cost of which, be it noted, she paid for out of her own money.

Then GEORGE JOHNSON made war upon her; hurling texts of Scripture at his brother and her, as opportunity offered. One sees in his conduct the pitiful meanness and vulgarity of the rigid Separation.

Then FRANCIS JOHNSON and DANIEL STUDLEY made war upon him: and the Story gets interesting in watching their methods in dealing with him; to see how the "Holy Discipline" would act in real life. They offered to make him an Elder, if he would only be quiet: but pragmatical GEORGE stood firm for the principle of being disagreeable upon principle. So this fatuous Much ado about Nothing finally ends in FRANCIS JOHNSON delivering his brother GEORGE over to SATAN, about the year 1599.

GEORGE retaliates by publishing the Story in this unfinished *Discourse*, in 1603; being at that time in Durham prison, where he died: thereby showing up this Old Clothes Controversy, as Doctor DEXTER calls it; and the perversity and narrow-mindedness of all concerned in it.

It seems to us that GEORGE JOHNSON richly deserved to be cast out of a Society in which he had deliberately made himself intolerably offensive: but that his brother FRANCIS committed an error in policy, in going so far as *publicly* to excommunicate his own brother. Some other way should have been found.

But while FRANCIS may, to some extent, be excused for

his action towards his brother in 1599; his treatment of his father in 1602 seems to be perfectly unpardonable.

The Pastor seems to have been steadily going from bad to worse in that interval.

John Johnson.

September—October 1602.

WE have seen, at page 106, that George Johnson was born in Richmondshire, that is, the North Riding of Yorkshire. It was probably from there, that his father, John Johnson, a septuagenarian, came to Amsterdam to make peace, about September 1602.

Francis Johnson, now a thoroughly bad man, treated his father; and suffered him to be treated by his Church, with scorn and derision. Finally, though his father did not belong to his Community, he had the amazing impudence to deliver him over to Satan.

Christopher Lawne says

This Censure was done so violently and cruelly that no advice, counsel, no nor threats, of the Dutch Church [*whose Latin Declaration of* 29 *October* /8 *November* 1602, *he prints*] might restrain, or stay, the rage of Master Francis.

In that Master Francis did continue and persist obstinately unto the death of his father; without revocation of his error, or reconciliation to his father: sending his father down to the grave with this curse upon his back . . . in all this, he hath filled [up] the measure of his iniquity. *The profane Schism &c.*, p. 61.

Perhaps, in all literature, there does not exist a more crushing rebuke to a bad son than the following paper by John Johnson. It is written with a studied moderation.

Son. You asked me also, in the presence of Master Studley, Wherein you were unnatural?

I answer you, By these things following ; you urging me thereto :

1. That I coming, in my old age, so far, so hard and dangerous, a journey, to seek and make peace between you, the Church, and your brother : I could never see the least inclination in you to peace. Neither tendered you my old age ; but so used me as, if GOD strengthened not me, you might presently bring my gray hairs with sorrow to the grave.

2. Lodging in your house, the first week ; you were so far from peace, and so unkindly used me, that you made me weary before the week was ended : so was I forced to shift to my other son's [? *Jacob Johnson*] lodging.

3. When I dealt with you for peace : you sought to catch and ensnare me in my words ; and afterward, as I perceived, also seduced the Elders and the people to the like dealing.

4. You upbraided me with things secret between me and my child in the country [*George Johnson*] ; which were untrue : and if they had been true, you ought not to disgrace me as Ham did, Genesis ix. You did worse than he did : but, GOD have praise ! they were not true. Yet your unnatural and unchristian dealing appeared herein: both in upbraiding me untruly and unjustly; and, if it had been true, so to do, it is as to vex and disgrace me.

5. To let me stand two hours on my feet before you and the people ; and yourself sat all the time : and not once bid me sit down yourself; neither spake to the people to bid me.

6. Not once, in the space of six weeks, did you come to visit me, or ask how I did : being in the same city with you ; and having come so far for your peace.

7. You denied to give me your hand [*signature*] unto that, which before you had granted to others.

8. You would not trust my word ; but forced me to Protestations.

9. These, and such like things, made me call to mind your unnaturalness that, in the space of five years [1597—1602] and more, you had not written to me, That you were desirous to see my face ; or That I should be welcome to you, when I wrote to you of my purpose in coming. So little thankfulness and Nature have you shewed unto me, for all my care and pains for you, from your youth : and, I fear, your example will make many fathers, if they be not upright-minded, to hold their children from learning, and studying in the Universities.

10. You heard me scoffed and gibed by divers in the Congregation, and not once rebuked them : which many children not professing godliness, but led only by Nature, would not have indured to hear against their father.

11. But, no wonder ! For, at length, you became so hardened that you sat as principal ; and heard your father excommunicated : being come to be a peace-maker. Hath the like unnaturalness been read, or heard of ?

12. Coming afterward to you, and talking with you : you said, You might not keep company with me. Doth Excommunication cut off duties of children to fathers, &c. ?

The profane Schism &c., pp. 64-66.

We then come to this judgement as to FRANCIS JOHNSON. That by October 1602, he was a dead Christian ; that, by then, he was an utter disgrace to our sacred Faith ; and that what he afterwards said, preached, or wrote, is not deserving of serious attention, from a spiritual point of view.

CHRISTOPHER LAWNE'S BOOKS, 1612—1613.

WE must now break off the chronological sequence of events, in order to determine the truthfulness, or falsehood of LAWNE'S two books : for they profess to describe the inner life of the Ancient Church from the year 1602 onwards. We may state, at once, that we consider them worthy of an implicit belief ; and will now give our reasons for so thinking.

On the 6/16 July 1612, there was entered at Stationers' Hall, London, to WALTER BURRE the Publisher, under the hands [*signatures*] of the Rev. Doctor NIDD, a Chaplain to the Archbishop of CANTERBURY, and also of RICHARD FIELD and HUMPHREY LOWNES, the two Wardens of the Stationers' Company, a book called *The prophane* [=*profane*] *Schism of the Brownists &c.* [E. ARBER, *Transcript &c.*, iii. 490, 1876, 4].

This book was written by four persons, CHRISTOPHER LAWNE, JOHN FOWLER, CLEMENT SAUNDERS, and ROBERT BULWARD: who had, previous to the 9/19 July 1611, withdrawn from the Ancient Church, and joined themselves to the Scotch Presbyterian Church in Amsterdam; of which Church the Minister was the Rev. JOHN PAGET.

The full Title of this book is as follows: in respect to which it will be noticed that the names of the Place of Printing, of the Printer, and of the Publisher, are all designedly omitted from it; apparently (the book being of a highly libellous character, if untrue) in view of possible legal proceedings.

The profane Schism of the Brownists or Separatists; with the impiety, dissensions, lewd and abominable vices, of that impure Sect:

Discovered by { CHRISTOPHER LAWNE, JOHN FOWLER, CLEMENT SAUNDERS, ROBERT BULWARD;

lately returned from the Company of Master JOHNSON, that wicked Brother, into the bosom of the Church of England, their true Mother. 1612, 4.

The *Preface* of this Work thus ends:

And although we be unlearned men which have composed this book; yet we hope it will not be disliked therefore: seeing we speak of nothing but which our own knowledge and experience hath taught us; and the admonition may take better place, because that the most which are taken in the net of Brownism, are men of our condition.

This Work we refer to as, *The profane Schism &c.*

As soon as copies of it reached Amsterdam, they led to the production of another English book there, with the following Title:

A Shield of Defence against the Arrows of Schism shot abroad by JEAN DE L'ECLUSE in his *Advertisement* against Master [THOMAS] BRIGHTMAN.

Hereunto is prefixed a Declaration touching a book intituled, *The profane Schism of the Brownists.*

By JOHN FOWLER, CLEMENT SAUNDERS, ROBERT BULWARD.

Printed at Amsterdam, by HENRY LAURENSON, dwelling upon the water, at the sign of the *Writing Book.* 1612, 4.

Apparently the only two copies known of this Work are in the Bodleian Library, Oxford. Press-marks, Pamph. 10; and 4° 9.48. Th. L'ECLUSE's *Advertisement* is apparently a lost book.

We shall refer to this Work as *A Shield of Defence &c.*

The parts of its *Declaration* that are material to our present purpose, are as follows:

Christian Reader. There was, of late, a book published in London, under this title, *The profane Schism of the Brownists.* Such a book indeed we sent, by one of us, to be printed there; but in the publishing thereof, great injury hath been done unto us, and chiefly in three ways: by Addition, by Detraction [*Omission*], and by Alteration of the same.

Secondly, there is, in sum, left out the greatest part of the book which we sent to be printed: yea, in exact account, there is not a fourth part thereof that is printed . . .

Only this we understand by a letter sent from CHRISTOPHER LAWNE, who was entrusted with this business, That he, according to the order in such like cases, seeking unto such as were appointed for the allowance of books to be printed; and leaving it in the hands of [the Rev. Doctor NIDD,] a certain Chaplain of the Archbishop [GEORGE ABBOT], to get it read over and viewed, until he himself might return out of the country into which he was then going down — before he could come up to London again, he found the book already printed, contrary to his expectation: and in the printing thereof, so mangled and defaced as is above specified.

And howsoever we do now disclaim this book above mentioned, as none of ours; being thus corruptly printed, with such Additions, Omissions, and Alterations: yet do we still acknowledge that all the particular matters of fact recorded against the Brownists, in that book, are such things as were taken out of our Writing [*manuscript*]; and for proof thereof, we are able and ready to produce our testimony and witness, as occasion shall require. The most of them are testified and confessed by themselves; and the most

heinous things, even under their own handwriting: and the rest are such things as either we ourselves, or others, will witness.

And therefore, though we complain of injury for the manner of publishing that book: yet let not the Brownists insult thereupon! Though we be wronged: yet are not they cleared from the matters there noted; which are still in force against them.

The Rev. JOHN PAGET thus wrote, in 1618, to the Rev. HENRY AINSWORTH of the same city.

You speak of *disguised pamphlets that are come out of our Congregation*: but the books which you seem to aim at, are such as, for the matter of them, are taken out of your offensive Company; and do, in part, shew the disguised practises of your Separation.

For the persons that published them [*i.e. C. LAWNE and his fellows*], they also were such as came out of your Company: who (leaving their schism, which they once professed with you) were more fit to witness such things as they had heard and seen among you.

For the helpers which they had herein; they had, beside others, Master [GILES] THORPE; now an Elder of your Congregation also, but then a Deacon. Out of whose Writing [*manuscript*], which he communicated with them, they received sundry things which they published; and many more which should have been published, had not their book been misprinted [in London], contrary to their minds. For the manner of printing and publishing one of those books, great injury hath been done unto them: as hath been noted before. [*See previous page.*] *An Arrow against the Separation of the Brownists*, pp. 333, 334, Amsterdam, 1618, 4.

The next point that we have to note is, That neither the Rev. FRANCIS JOHNSON'S Church, nor the Rev. HENRY AINSWORTH'S Church, either individually or collectively, dared to attempt, this time, to vindicate themselves from the perfectly crushing charges of LAWNE'S and FOWLER'S books against them, in 1612 and 1613, in a Court of Justice: as we shall presently see, they had already failed to do, in respect to the similar accusations of the Rev. THOMAS WHITE, in February 1606, see pp. 118-120. The presumption therefore is, That what these books state is perfectly true.

But what was decided to be done was, That the Rev. RICHARD CLYFTON, who had now absolutely identified himself with the Rev. FRANCIS JOHNSON and his Church, should write a reply to them: which he did under the following title.

An Advertisement concerning a Book lately published by CHRISTOPHER LAWNE and others, against the English exiled Church at Amsterdam.

By RICHARD CLYFTON, Teacher of the same Church.

Printed in the year of our LORD, 1612, 4.

There is a copy of this rare book in the Bodleian Library. Press-mark, Pamph. 10.

But it had been better for his friends, if CLYFTON had held his peace.

For at pages 115-125 of this book is printed the *Answer* of DANIEL STUDLEY, now, in 1612, cast out of the Ruling Eldership, to the accusations of LAWNE and his fellows: an *Answer* that is perfectly amazing; for in it STUDLEY simply throws away his defence, confessing to immoralities even so late as in 1610. How CLYFTON could be such a fool as to print this *Answer* is past all comprehension. How could he so play into the hands of his enemies!

But having published the book; he went yet a step further in folly, and *retracted it all* in writing: as the Rev. JOHN PAGET, who had the Separatist Churches in the city where he lived constantly under his observation, thus tells us in 1618; when CLYFTON had been dead now some twenty months.

The principal penman, or scribe, of the Separation [*Master CLYFTON, Teacher in Master JOHNSON his Company*], that hath written most and purposely against the book which you call a libel [*The profane Schism &c.*], hath, long since, acknowledged his fault for the same; and that under his hand in writing: acknowledging the great fruit that comes by publishing the personal sins of them that continue in error. And thus, by his repentance, hath made some satisfaction for his offence: as, in due time, is further to be manifested. *An Arrow against the Separation of the Brownists*, p. 8, Amsterdam, 1618, 4.

To CLYFTON's book, there appeared the following reply by the Rev. HENRY AINSWORTH.

An Animadversion to Master RICHARD CLYFTON's *Advertisement*: who—under pretence of answering CHRISTOPHER LAWNE's book—hath published another man's [*H. AINSWORTH's*] private Letter; with Master FRANCIS JOHNSON's Answer thereto.

Which Letter is here justified; the Answer thereto refuted: and the true causes of the lamentable breach, that hath lately fallen out in the English exiled Church at Amsterdam, manifested.

Imprinted at Amsterdam, by GILES THORPE, *anno Domini*, 1613, 4.

This Work throws some side lights on the Pilgrim Church.

At page 111, the Rev. JOHN ROBINSON replies to JOHNSON's censures of his *Justification of the Separation &c.*

At pp. 133-136, is *The Testimony of the Elders of the Church at Leyden*, respecting the Split at Amsterdam. It is signed by the Rev. JOHN ROBINSON and WILLIAM BREWSTER. Therefore BREWSTER was a Ruling Elder at Leyden at least as early as 1613.

At page 136, the following passage occurs in this *Testimony*.

And here the work of GOD's Providence is to be observed, That they [*the Franciscans*], who would have no peace with their brethren [*the Ainsworthians*] abiding in the same city with them, are about to leave it themselves; and to settle their abode elsewhere.

This fixes the Exodus of the Rev. FRANCIS JOHNSON's Church to Emden in 1613. But they were not there long. When his next book, *A Christian Plea*, appeared in 1617; the Church was back again in Amsterdam.

It also appears from this book, that two men and a widow of the Ainsworthians were the chief owners of the building of the Meeting House at Amsterdam: but that the ground on which it stood was held, *in trust only*, by a man who belonged to JOHNSON's Church. It was upon these facts, that the Burgomasters awarded the building to the Ainsworthians:

who, ousting the Franciscans therefrom, occasioned their migration to Emden.

On the 15/25 May 1613, there was entered, also to WALTER BURRE, at Stationers' Hall, London, under the license of the same Rev. Doctor NIDD, another book on the Ancient exiled Church. [E. ARBER, *Transcript &c.*, iii. 523, 1876, 4.] It has the following Title.

Brownism turned the inside outward. Being a Parallel between the Profession and Practice of the Brownists' religion.

By CHRISTOPHER LAWNE, lately returned from that wicked Separation.

London. Printed for WALTER BURRE, and are to be sold at his shop in Paul's Churchyard, at the sign of the *Crane*. 1613, 4.

This Work adds no new facts. It merely applies those already known. It may be regarded as a Supplement to *The profane Schism &c.*

We have gone thus deeply into the bibliography of these books, in order to show that LAWNE's books were never really controverted by those whom they so deadly attacked; and therefore, that we must, in default of their denials, accept the statements contained in them as substantially true.

THE CASE OF THE REV. THOMAS WHITE.

1603—1606.

RETURNING now to the chronological sequence of events, we have next to note that about the year 1603, a Clergyman named the Rev. THOMAS WHITE joined the Ancient Church. He was so shocked with what he saw there, that he wrote a book with the following Title.

A Discovery of Brownism; or a brief discovery of some of the errors and abominations daily practised, and increased, amongst

the English Company of the Separation remaining, for the present, at Amsterdam in Holland.

London. Printed by E. A. [EDWARD ALDEE] for NATHANIEL FOSBROOKE; and are to be sold at his shop at the West End of Paul's. 1605, 4.

British Museum Press-mark, 698, 8, 4 (7).

This book was entered at Stationers' Hall on 26 October /5 November 1605. [E. ARBER, *Transcript &c.*, iii. 304, 1876, 4.]

It is as strong in its accusations as anything that CHRISTOPHER LAWNE and his fellows ever wrote some seven or eight years later.

The Rev. FRANCIS JOHNSON immediately published the following reply.

An Inquiry, and Answer of THOMAS WHITE his *Discovery of Brownism.* 1606, 4.

A copy of this rare book is in the Bodleian Library. Press-mark, C. 3. 1. Linc.

At pages 28, 29 of this *Inquiry &c.*, which was written and published before the Trial came on, is the following passage.

For which Master STUDLEY hath called him before the Magistrates here [*i.e. at Amsterdam*], for a slanderer; desiring that proof may be brought, or satisfaction made, according to justice.

The woman he hath named before to be JUDITH HOLDER. For which, also, she hath called him before the Magistrates of this city.

LAWNE, at pp. 26-30 of *The profane Schism &c.*, prints a certified copy of the *Arrest Roll of the city of Amsterdam*, relating to this trial. From which it would appear, that FRANCIS JOHNSON, JACOB JOHNSON, HENRY AINSWORTH, FRANCIS BLACKWELL, DANIEL STUDLEY, CHRISTOPHER BOWMAN, JOHN NICHOLAS, JUDITH HOLDER, WILLIAM BARBOR, and THOMAS BISHOP caused the Rev. THOMAS WHITE, and his wife ROSE WHITE, to be arrested on account of the

accusations in the above mentioned book; which specifically charged STUDLEY with immorality; and BOWMAN, with peculation, on account of which he was called "JUDAS the Purse Bearer."

The trial came on upon the 14/24 February 1606. We give the result in LAWNE's words.

Concerning these *Articles* which they laid in against Master WHITE, as though he had slandered them therein: when as Master WHITE had once taken order, by his Attorney, to answer the matter; when as also he had, for proof thereof, brought sundry witnesses before the Burgomasters, which there did testify, and by their oaths and depositions confirm, the things which Master WHITE had written: then was Master WHITE discharged; and had liberty from the Magistrates to go for England, as his occasions or business should require.

After which time, there was never any other sentence given by the Magistrates to reverse the same: insomuch that at length, the Brownists themselves (although troublesome and contentious in this, as in other actions) were content to let their Suit fall, and ceased to proceed any further therein. And much better had it been for them, never to have begun it; than, with so much shame, and so many rebukes, to leave it off, pp. 28, 29.

We have only one remark to make here on this subject; and that is, That from the date of this verdict, 14/24 February 1605/1606, the Community over which the Rev. FRANCIS JOHNSON presided, must be regarded in its collective capacity as a Church of CHRIST, to be corrupt and dead. For, notwithstanding this damaging legal exposure, matters went on in it, for some years to come, just as they had gone on in the past.

Here then the "Holy Discipline," in actual practice, utterly broke down.

Peter Fairlambe. 1606.

ON the 1/11 July 1606, there was entered at Stationers' Hall London, the undermentioned Work, [E. Arber, *Transcript &c.*, iii. 326, 1876, 4.]

The Recantation of a Brownist.
By Peter Fairlambe.

At London. Printed for Henry Gosson; and are to be sold at the sign of the *Sun* in Paternoster row. 1606, 4.

This work contains a Bibliography of Works for, and against, the Separation, up to the time of its publication. It does not concern the Separatist Churches in Holland; but is connected rather with Barbary and the Rev. Thomas Bernhere. The Rev. Francis Johnson is however frequently mentioned in it.

The arrival of fresh English Churches in Amsterdam. 1607—1608.

BETWEEN October 1607 and August 1608, the Pilgrim Church, from Scrooby, arrived in Amsterdam: and, for a time, joined itself to the Ancient exiled Church there.

In 1608, the Gainsborough Church, under the Rev. John Smyth, the Se-Baptist, arrived in Amsterdam: and formed itself into the Second exiled English Church there. Its history is briefly told at pp. 131-140.

That unspeakable Daniel Studley. 1592—1612.

WE are not going to defile this book with any account of the goings on of Daniel Studley in the Ancient Church; from, at least, 1604 till 1612. We will merely say that this Ruling Elder was the Falstaff of that Community; ever prowling about after other men's wives, &c., &c., &c. The details will be found in *The profane Schism &c.*

At pp. 15, 16, of that Work, will be found the *Articles* exhibited against him, at the time of the Split on 15/25 December 1610, in order to secure his deposition. An effort which *failed.*

At page 11, Lawne thus refers to the two men who took the trouble to deliver him over to Satan, on 28 July /7 August 1611.

But who be those two subscribers that set their hands to this Excommunication? These two be the two special Champions of the Franciscan Schism; the two principal pillars of that rotten Separation: the one [Daniel Studley] by his wit, and the other [Edward Benet] by his wealth.

At page 16, Lawne calls Studley "that hypocritical Chameleon."

The following additional passages are all that need be adduced here:

But if any would further know what this Daniel Studley is, let them ask Samuel Fuller, a Deacon of Master Robinson's Church; and desire to see a copy of the letter which Daniel Studley sent unto him: or let them ask Master [Giles] Thorpe, a Deacon of Master Ainsworth's Church; and desire to see a book intitled "The First Part of *The Hunting of the Fox*," and there shall he see Daniel Studley traced up and down. *The profane Schism &c.*, p. 11, Ed. 1612, 4.

It is clear from this passage that Giles Thorpe, the Printer at Amsterdam, was the author, and probably also the printer, of *The Hunting of the Fox.*

The next passage shows that this, at present lost book, was printed before the 15/25 December 1610.

Before the schism of the Ainsworthians from the Franciscans, the sins and scandals of DANIEL STUDLEY were shewed and manifested by divers of the Ainsworthians [*see previous page*]: and yet such opposition was made against them as that DANIEL STUDLEY did neither soundly repent, nor lose his Office: from which he is now [*i.e. on some date between August* 1611 *and August* 1612] deposed.

That which the Popular Government could not then effect, is now effected since that Government was changed by Master JOHNSON [*i.e. since he became the autocrat of his Church*]. *A Shield of Defence*, p. 37.

Surely the Rev. JOHN ROBINSON was thinking of DANIEL STUDLEY, when he wrote the following passage in the second book which he published after his removal to Leyden. If so, he had come to regard the Ancient Church at Amsterdam as a "rebellious rout."

But this I hold, that if iniquity be committed in the Church; and complaint, and proof, accordingly made; and that the Church will not reform, or reject the party offending: but will, on the contrary, maintain presumptuously, and abet, such impiety—that then, by abetting that party and his sin, she makes it her own by imputation; and enwraps herself in the same guilt with the sinner. And, remaining irreformable (either by such members of the same Church as are faithful, if there be any; or by other sister Churches), wipeth herself out of the LORD'S Church Roll: and now ceaseth to be any longer the true Church of CHRIST. And whatsoever truths, or ordinances, of CHRIST, this rebellious rout [*crowd*] still retains; it but usurps the same, without right unto them, or promise of blessing upon them: both the persons and sacrifices are abominable unto the Lord. Tit. i. 16; Prov. xxi. 27. *Justification of Separation*, p. 247, Ed. 1610, 4.

It would seem likely that, knowing the motives for it, the Rev. FRANCIS JOHNSON resented the Exodus of the Pilgrim Church to Leyden; which would have greatly reduced his importance, if not his income. At any rate, we

have here the reply of him and his Ruling Elder to the foregoing opinions of the Pilgrim Pastor.

Master JOHNSON, for the further manifestation of Master ROBINSON's errors, since that time, also brought Master ROBINSON's book against Master BERNARD [*A Justification of Separation &c.*, 1610] into their Meeting House [at Amsterdam]; and there, before the Congregation, made a solemn testification against the manifold errors contained in it: which he disclaimed; and not only so, but wrote to Master ROBINSON, to rebuke him for the same.

DANIEL STUDLEY is so apt in reproach that he runs upon the Letter: making, as it were, an Alphabet of Slander; having it so perfect as his A B C. For trial hereof, see how he grinds his teeth against SAMUEL FULLER, a Deacon of Master ROBINSON's Company; whom, with his friends, he describes [? *in* 1610, *or* ? 1611] as being * "ignorant idiots, noddy Nabalites, dogged DOEGS, fairfaced Pharisees, shameless Shemites, malicious Macchiavellians."

* The Flowers of Studley's eloquent letter to Samuel Fuller.

Thus doth this Alphabetical Slanderer flourish among them, with the taunting and flaunting figures of his profane conceited spirit. *The profane Schism &c.*, p. 76.

THE ANCIENT EXILED ENGLISH CHURCH AT AMSTERDAM SPLITS IN TWO.

SATURDAY, 15/25 DECEMBER 1610.

JOHNSON, instigated Governor BRADFORD thought by STUDLEY, in the year 1609, developed very autocratic views about *Tell it unto the Church!* making the Eldership to be a kind of aristocracy, and all the rest of the community to be merely dummies.

Whereupon there arose in the Church a fierce wrangle for more than a year; in which AINSWORTH appears to have been very patient and reasonable, and JOHNSON to have been specially arrogant and violent.

At last, the inevitable Split came on Saturday,

15/25 December 1610: when each section delivered the other over to SATAN, as the manner was.

JOHNSON, having deposed AINSWORTH from his Office of Teacher, appointed CLYFTON in his place. He had then for his Ruling Elders, DANIEL STUDLEY, EDWARD BENET, JACOB JOHNSON, STANSHALL MERCER: and, later, CHRISTOPHER BOWMAN, then a Deacon, was promoted to the Eldership.

Only one of JOHNSON's Elders went out with AINSWORTH: and that was JEAN DE L'ECLUSE. He was immediately accused by JACOB JOHNSON of drunkenness. *The profane Schism &c.*, p. 73. Had he not gone out, he would not have been so accused.

AINSWORTH appointed Master MAY for another of his Ruling Elders; and, later on, promoted GILES THORPE, the Deacon to an Eldership in his Church.

JOHNSON published the following defence of his opinions.

A short Treatise concerning the exposition of those words of CHRIST. *Tell the Church! &c.*, Matt. xviii. 17. Printed in the year of our LORD 1611, 4.

At the beginning of this Work, he says:

The occasions that have moved me hereunto, are not unknown to many others besides myself: and I need not speak of them in particular.

After that the Burgomasters decided that the Meeting House belonged to members of AINSWORTH's Church; the Franciscans migrated, in 1613, to Emden: apparently to their great impoverishment. Then, for the next three or four years, we know very little about them.

In November 1614, Doctor WILLIAM AMES, in his *Preface* to WILLIAM BRADSHAW's *The Unreasonableness of the Separation &c.*, Dort, 1614, 4, writes:

Think not evil! if thou meanest well. We intend not to insult over him that is down, or to pursue a man that is flying of himself: but to lend him a hand, that knoweth not well which way to take. Master JOHNSON indeed is rather to be pitied than much opposed.

We need but stand still as lookers on. He falleth willingly on his own sword.

Then come JOHNSON'S printed Recantation, his death and burial at Amsterdam; as told by MATTHEW SLADE at pp. 129, 130.

Then FRANCIS BLACKWELL, acting on the resolution which the Leyden Church had already come to, leads forth the remnant of the Franciscans to emigrate to Virginia. Governor BRADFORD tells us the sad story at pp. 277-279. See also pp. 290, 291. How, being caught by the Bishops, they threw over their principles; and rather than be baulked of their voyage, caved in to them: so that BLACKWELL goes off with Archbishop ABBOT'S blessing. How they mutually cursed one another in the streets of Gravesend. How they were packed in the ship like herrings. Lastly, how BLACKWELL and most of them died before ever they saw Virginia.

Truly, FRANCIS JOHNSON'S Church was buried in the Atlantic Ocean.

THE PROPHETS OF THE "HOLY DISCIPLINE," AND THEIR COMICAL PROCEEDINGS. 1602—1612.

LAWNE gives us two accounts of these Prophets. THOMAS COCKY and JACOB JOHNSON were Prophets in the united Church, before the Split.

Falling into variance one with another, one of them brings in before the Church, a list of fifteen lies, wherewith he charged the other. The other again, to requite his pains, brings in, at the next turn, against him, a list of sixteen lies. Betwixt them both, they make up the sum of thirty-one lies. *The profane Schism &c.*, p. 83.

At the Split, COCKY became an Ainsworthian.

At pp. 58, 59 of the same Work, there is the following

Statement by W. SIMSON, a member of AINSWORTH Church; who was troubled with

(1) Our rejecting communion with all the Reformed Churches on earth; and all true Christians in the same. [*How contrary this, to the practice of the Pilgrim Church!*]

(2) Our own manner of Exercise on the LORD's Day is with such confusion, and contradicting one another; so that even our own profession of Separation is indeed quite overthrown thereby. For example, THOMAS COCKY, in his prophesy, witnessing against England, saith, Their Ministry is antichristian: and being so, they can beget no true faith; and no true faith can have no true salvation: and so consequently in the Church of England is taught no salvation. A fearful sentence in my judgement.

Again, our beloved Master [JEAN] DE L'ECLUSE, in his doctrine of prophesy, laboured to prove Separation from a true Church for *any* corruption obstinately stood in. This doctrine was, by another, in prophesying, then shewed to be absolutely contrary to that place of Rev. ii. 24. Which how unsoundly it was concluded by our Teacher [*the Rev. HENRY AINSWORTH*] was then observed by many. *The profane Schism &c.*, pp. 58, 59.

What an affront to the Divine Majesty, in the very act of worship, all this was, need not be dwelt upon.

THE FIENDISH CRUELTY OF RICHARD MANSFIELD. 1610—1612.

WE next come to the case of RICHARD MANSFIELD. LAWNE tells us, at pp. 32-41 of *The profane Schism &c.*, that he was an Ainsworthian: and therefore leads us faintly to hope that atrocious indignities and unheard barbarities to which this brute subjected the unfortunate Maidens of the Separation of that Congregation, were not earlier than the Split on the 15/25 December 1610: otherwise the duration of his horrible brutalities is not indicated.

Had this monster been living now, his life would not have been worth five minutes' purchase, outside a prison.

The Ancient Church is an abomination to the citizens of Amsterdam. 1605—1612.

IN proof of this, Lawne, in *The profane Schism &c.*, p. 21, cites the two following facts.

The testimony of the Dutch Church concerning the Brownists.

When as they sent their messengers, with some questions, unto the Dutch Eldership: they received this answer from them, That they did not acknowledge their Assembly to be an Ecclesiastical Assembly, or a lawful Church.

And when Master Johnson and others of them, were instant [*urgent*] to hear reasons of this answer from them: it was further answered, They would do it, if they saw it needful; or if they found anything that was worthy of answer.

The testimony of the Magistracy of Amsterdam, concerning the Brownists.

The Magistrates—both, of old, [in the Suit] against Master [Thomas] White [in 1606]; and now, of late, in [the] Suit about their Meeting House [in 1611]—when they sought to lay in their Action in the name of the Church: they were repelled by the Magistrates that are members of the Dutch Church. They would not receive complaint from them, in the quality or name of a Church; or [in] the name of any Elder or Deacon: but as from private men. The Magistrates told them, That they held them, not as a Church; but as a Sect.

This only confirms what the Rev. Thomas White had written so far back as the 20/30 July 1605, There is no Sect in Amsterdam, though many, in such contempt for immoral life, as the Brownists are. *The profane Schism &c.* p. 27.

The divine blessing upon the Pilgrim Church.

ALL this while, though they had troubles of their own (as who has not?), one seems to see the Divine blessing resting upon the Pilgrim Church. The Children of Peace received peace. It was as if the Almighty would try the Pilgrim Fathers, as he tried Abraham; and then bless them, as he blessed him: so that a mighty nation has sprung from their loins. Has he not multiplied their seed "as the stars of the heaven; and as sand which is upon the sea shore?"

And just as the Amsterdam people were going further and further from the mother Church at home; so the Leyden Church was drawing nearer and nearer to it.

The death-bed Recantation of the Rev. Francis Johnson. 1617.

NOW we come to the death-bed acknowledgment of the Rev. Francis Johnson, that his whole life had been one long mistake. "If the blind lead the blind, both shall fall into the ditch."

MATTHEW SLADE TO SIR DUDLEY CARLETON.
AMSTERDAM; SATURDAY, 10/20 JANUARY 1617/1618.

This day we have buried Master Francis Johnson, a man that hath, many years [*since September* 1597], been Pastor of the Brownists: and (having cast himself, and drawn others, into great troubles and miseries, for their opinions and schism) did, a few days before his death, publish a Book;* wherein he disclaimed

* This book was probably published in the previous December, and therefore would bear the date 1617. It is certainly not *A Christian Plea &c.*, which Johnson published in that year. Even the Title of this Recantation is not known, so utterly has the book perished.—E. A.

most of his former singularities, and refuted them. To which Work, he hath also annexed a brief Refutation of the *Five Articles.* [? of the Synod of Dort].

S. P., *Holland.* Bundle 123.

The influence of the Separation.

IF we ask ourselves, What effect had all this Separation upon the Church of England? the answer must be, Nothing at all. The Anglican Church went on to its way, heedless of the Separatists. The struggle between the King and the Hierarchy on the one side, and the lower Clergy with the spiritually-minded, liberty-loving Laity on the other, intensified as time went on; especially after Laud became the Primate in 1633. The Separation, the Forlorn Hope of Puritanism, was a sign of the Times; nothing more.

One sees now so clearly how inevitable the great Civil War was. In some shape or other, it was bound to come. The regeneration of the British Constitution and of British society was not possible without that great political thunderstorm.

CHAPTER XI.

The Rev. John Smyth, Preacher of the City of Lincoln; afterwards Pastor of the Church at Gainsborough; then Pastor of the Brethren of the Separation of the Second English Church at Amsterdam; and lastly, the Se-Baptist. 1603—1612.

THE Bibliography of the Separation is most difficult. This is partly because so few copies of these Works have survived. For instance, if a Londoner would see all the known copies of the first editions of the Rev. John Smyth's Works, he must travel first to Oxford, and then to Cambridge, and thence to York; and so back to London: a journey of some four hundred miles. It is also difficult because the Separatists hardly ever printed the month or day on which they finished, or printed, their books; but only the year.

So likewise, although Dr H. Martyn Dexter has done much to clear the way in *The true Story of John Smŷth, the Se-Baptist,* Boston, Massa., 1881, 4, the biography of this Separatist is as difficult to write as that of any Englishman's of that Age could now possibly be. We are able to supplement Doctor Dexter in some respects; but cannot but feel that what follows, is but a mere sketch. We have not space here for a full treatment of this subject.

There are two solid facts to go upon:

1. The Rev. Francis Johnson, while a Fellow of Christ's College, Cambridge, was his Tutor. Therefore Smyth was of that College.

Doctor DEXTER would identify him with the JOHN SMYTH who matriculated as a Sizar at Christ's College on the 26th November 1571. But that is too early, as it would make him senior to his Tutor in the College: for FRANCIS JOHNSON matriculated as a Pensioner in that College and University on the 1st April 1579.

2. The Rev. RICHARD BERNARD tells us (*Plain Evidences*, page 21) that SMYTH was ordained a Clergyman by WILLIAM WICKHAM; who was Bishop of LINCOLN between the 20th November 1584 and the 22 February 1595.

He is therefore apparently the JOHN SMITH of Christ's College, who took his M.A. in 1593; and not the man of the same name and College who took his B.A. in 1593, and his M.A. in 1597. If this be correct; he would have gone up to the University about 1586, and was probably born somewhere about 1572; and would therefore be somewhere about forty years of age, when he died in August 1612.

In his later years at any rate, he and those he came in contact with always spelt his name SMYTH: but many of his opponents spelt it SMITH, as he did himself at first.

We must therefore be on our guard in this matter. For he had two contemporaries, of the name of JOHN SMITH, both Clergymen, and who also wrote upon Prayer. Curiously enough, though not related to each other, they were both of the same College; St John's College, Oxford:

JOHN SMITH, of Berkshire, Vicar of St Laurence's, Reading, Berkshire; and author of *The Doctrine of Prayer in general for all men*, London, 1595, 4.

JOHN SMITH, of Warwickshire, Vicar of Clavering, Essex, from 1592 to 1616; and author of *The Substance and Pith of Prayer*. His collected Works were printed in 1629, under the title of *The Essex Dove &c.*

The next point is to prove that JOHN SMITH the Preacher of, or Lecturer in, the city of Lincoln from 1603 to 1605, is

the same man as JOHN SMYTH the Se-Baptist, that appears in our literature from 1608 to 1613.

In the library of Emmanuel College, Cambridge, there is a copy of the following Work, that is believed to be unique. Its Press-mark is 7. 5. 76.

The bright Morning Star, or the Resolution and Exposition of the 22nd Psalm ; preached publicly in four Sermons at Lincoln. By JOHN SMITH, Preacher of the City.

Printed by JOHN LEGAT, Printer to the University of Cambridge. 1603.

And are to be sold at the Sign of the *Crown* in Paul's Churchyard by SIMON WATERSON.

In octavo.

The following entry was made at Stationers' Hall,

22 *Martij* [1605].

Master MAN *Senior.* THOMAS MAN *Junior.* Entered for their copy vnder the hands of the wardens A booke called *A paterne of true Prayer or exposicon vppon the lords prayer* Done by JOHN SMYTHE &c. of Lincoln . . . . . vjd

E. ARBER. *Transcript &c.*, iii. 285, Ed. 1876, 4.

Every copy of this first edition of 1605 has apparently disappeared. The Work however was reprinted in 1624, with the following Title.

A Pattern of True Prayer. A learned and comfortable Exposition or Commentary upon the LORD's Prayer ; wherein the doctrine of the Substance and Circumstances of true Invocation is evidently and fully declared out of the Holy Scriptures.

By JOHN SMITH, Minister and Preacher of the Word of GOD.

London. Printed by I. D. for THOMAS MAN [*the* Junior *in the above entry at Stationers' Hall*] ; and are to be sold by WILLIAM HEFFARD, JOHN BELLAMY, and BENJAMIN FISHER. 1624.

In octavo.

It is a considerable Work ; running, besides the introductory matter, to 452 octavo pages. The opening lines of the *Epistle Dedicatory* to EDMUND SHEFFIELD, Lord SHEFFIELD ; afterwards Earl of MULGRAVE, are as follows :

"It is neither ambition, nor covetousness, Right Honourable, that moveth me to publish this Treatise to the view of all ; which,

not long since, I delivered to the ears of a few : being the Lecturer in the city of Lincoln. . ."

British Museum Press-mark, 873, f. 36.

Now RICHARD BERNARD tells us, in both his Works, Nos. 2 and 12 of this Controversy, that the Writer of *A Pattern of true Prayer* was JOHN SMYTH, the Se-Baptist. We will here further confirm this testimony by the witness of JOHN COTTON in 1647.

As for Master SMITH, he standeth and falleth to his own Master. Whilst he was Preacher to the city of Lincoln, he wrought with GOD then. What temptations befell him after, by the evil workings of evil men, and some good men too ; I choose rather to tremble at, than discourse of.

(1) The Bloody Tenent washed &c.

(2) A *Reply* to Master [ROGER] WILLIAMS' *Answer* to Master COTTON'S *Letter*, p. 58.

London, [15 May] 1647, 4. British Museum Press-mark, E. 387 (7).

See also pp. 14, 15 of ROGER WILLIAMS "Master COTTON'S *Letter*, lately printed, Examined and Answered." London, [5 Feb.] 1644, 4 : where T. PRGOTT'S account of the death of the Se-Baptist [*see page* 140] is referred to by COTTON. British Museum Press-mark, E. 31 (16).

Therefore so late as on the 22 March 1605, the Rev. JOHN SMYTH was still at Lincoln ; and was still a Conformist. It was later, at Gainsborough, that, after doubting there for nine months, he threw off the Church of England, embraced the Separation, and became Pastor of the Church at Gainsborough. This could not have occurred earlier than 1606 ; unless he doubted *after* he became Pastor, and then the date might possibly be 1605 : but we think 1606 the more likely date : and that once he decided, he did not afterwards doubt.

We also believe that the Gainsborough Church went to Amsterdam about the same time as the Pilgrim Church, in 1608. If so, it had a very short existence in England ; a couple of years or so.

This Church was not organised on the lines of the "Holy Discipline"; but upon Smythian principles. Its Pastor held that Scripture knew of but one kind of Elders: in opposition to the "Holy Discipline" theory of the three separate Offices of Pastor, Teacher, and Elder.

We have shown at page 55 that so long as the Gainsborough and the Scrooby Churches were in England, they printed nothing. They only began to publish when they came into contact with the continental printers: and this was not till the year 1608.

On the 17th October 1608, the Second Volume (3rd and 4th Decades) of Bp. JOSEPH HALL's *Epistles* was entered for publication at Stationers' Hall. The first Epistle in this Volume is

> To Master SMITH and Master ROB[INSON], Ringleaders of the late Separation. At AMSTERDAM.

The coupling thus of these two names together, favours the idea that they migrated about the same time.

Clearly then both of these Churches were settled at Amsterdam before the 17th October 1608: but how much earlier than that date, SYMTH's Congregation arrived there, in that year, has yet to be ascertained.

The printed Controversy against this fresh Separation began with the following Works.

1. The Sermon preached at the Cross [*i.e. Paul's Cross, London*], February 14, 1607 [-8]. By WILLIAM CRASHAW, B.D. and Preacher at the Temple, London. 1608, 4.
   Entered for publication at Stationers' Hall on the 19 April 1608. (E. ARBER, *Transcript &c.*, iii. 375, 1876, 4.): but the *Preface* is dated, The Temple, May 21st 1608.

2. Rev. RICHARD BERNARD. Christian Advertisements and Counsels of Peace. Also Dissuasions from the Separatists' Schism, commonly called Brownism. London, 1608, 8.

The *Preface* is dated, "At Worksop in Nottinghamshire, June 18 [1608]:" on which day also this book was entered at Stationers' Hall.

This date is very important, because BERNARD wrote this book in reply to a letter which JOHN SMYTH, "Pastor of the Church at Gainsborough," had written to him, in three days, some six or seven months previously; or in November or December 1607: and therefore the Gainsborough Church had not migrated to Holland at those dates. This letter, SMYTH printed in his *Parallels &c.* in 1609. As we know that the Pilgrim Church migrated to Holland between October 1607 and August 1608; it would again seem that the two Churches went over about the same time: but whether together or separately, cannot at present be said.

Then comes, in the order of time,

3. Bishop JOSEPH HALL'S Epistle to SMYTH and ROBINSON; in his Epistles, The Second Volume. London. 1608, 8.

We hold that SMYTH could get nothing printed until he came to Holland; and therefore we place the next book, which is both anonymous and undated, in 1608.

4. Principles and Inferences concerning the Visible Church &c., 32 pp. 16 mo.

The only known copy of this "little Method," as he calls it at page 11 of his *Parallels &c.*, is in York Minster Library.

It was at one time thought that the Gainsborough Church, on its arrival at Amsterdam, joined the Ancient exiled Church there, as the Scrooby Church certainly did: but it is clear from the next Work that this was not the case. Besides, the Gainsborough Church, on its settling in that city, threw off the Calvinistic doctrines; and embraced Arminianism. This was enough, of itself, to make a bottomless gulf between the two Churches.

In the following Work, SMYTH called the "Ancient exiled Church" there, the "Ancient Brethren of the Separation"; and his own Community he calls "the Brethren of the Separation of the Second English Church at Amsterdam.

5. Rev. JOHN SMYTH. The Differences of the Churches of the Separation. 1608, 4.

There is a copy of this Work in the Bodleian Library, Oxford. Press-mark, Pamph. 6 (1).

6. H. A. [HENRY AINSWORTH.] Counterpoison. 1608, 4. A Reply to CRASHAW, No. 1; and BERNARD, No. 2.

This Work, at page 41, states that the colleague of ROBERT BROWNE, "Master [RICHARD] HARRISON returned not unto your Church of England; but died at Middelburg in this faith that we profess." This is quite a new fact.

Events seemed to have moved rapidly in the Gainsborough Church.

In the year 1608, JOHN SMYTH baptized himself; and so became the Se-Baptist of Church History.

On some date in 1609, before the 12th March (Doctor DEXTER [*The true Story &c.*, page 37] has verified this date, 12th March 1609 [*N.S.*], by a reference to the original manuscript in Amsterdam); and therefore within four years of the foundation of the Church; the Rev. THOMAS HELWYS, WILLIAM PYGOTT, THOMAS SEAMER, JOHN MURTON, and the majority cast out from among them, the following thirty-two persons: who shortly after applied to the Mennonite Church, Amsterdam, for membership; making the following Confession of Error.

The names of the English people who confess this their error, and repent of the same, viz. That they undertook to baptize themselves; contrary to the order laid down by CHRIST. Who now therefore desire to get back into the true Church of CHRIST as speedily as may be. We are of one accord in the desire to have this our wish signified to the Church.

Men. (16).	Thomas Dolphine.	Alice Paynter.
Hugo Bromhead.	Matthew Pygott.	Alice Parsons.
Gervase Nevill.	*Women.* (16).	Joan Briggs.
John Smyth.	Ann Bromhead.	Jane Organ.
Thomas Canadyne.	Jane Southworth.	
Edward Hawkins.	Mary Smyth.	B. Evans, D.D. *Early English Baptists*, i. 244, 245, Ed. 1862, 8. H. M. Dexter, D.D. *The true Story &c.*, 36, Ed. 1881, 4.
John Hardie.	Joan Halton.	
Thomas Pygott.	Alice Arnfield.	
Francis Pygott.	Isabel Thomson.	
Robert Stavely.	Margaret Staveley.	
Alexander Fleminge.	Mary Grindal.	
Alexander Hodgkins.	Alice Pygott.	
John Grindal.	Margaret Pygott.	
Solomon Thomson.	Betteris Dickens.	
Samuel Halton.	Mary Dickens.	

This application for membership was, at some date after 8/18 July 1610, declined by the Mennonite Church.

This ejection notwithstanding, the Se-Baptist vigorously replied to Bernard, in

7. Rev. John Smyth. Parallels, Censures, and Observations. Printed 1609, 4.

This is a print of the above mentioned Letter of November or December 1607; with Observations and Comments.

Then the Ancient exiled Church replied to Smyth's *Differences &c.*, No. 5, in the following Work.

8. Rev. Henry Ainsworth (a) A Defence of the Holy Scriptures, Worship, and Ministry used in the Christian Churches separated from Antichrist.
(b) A few Observations upon some of Master Smyth's Censures in his Answer [*Parallels &c.*] made to Bernard. Amsterdam. Giles Thorpe. 1609, 4.

Meanwhile, in March 1608 [*i.e.* 1609], the Se-Baptist was engaged in another controversy with a member of the Ancient exiled Church, the Rev. Richard Clyfton, on the subject of Infant Baptism, which he called *The Mark of the Beast.* The following books should always be read together.

9. The Character [i.e. *Mark, or Sign*] of the Beast. Published by the Rev. JOHN SMYTH. 1609, 4.

There is a copy of this Work in the Bodleian Library. Press-mark, Pamph. 7.

10. The Plea for Infants and Elder People concerning their Baptism. Published by Rev. RICHARD CLYFTON. Amsterdam. GILES THORPE. 1610, 4.

In this year, 1609, must have appeared the Pilgrim Pastor's first book: now, in its original edition, utterly lost.

11. Rev JOHN ROBINSON. An Answer to a censorious Epistle. In reply to No. 3. Bp. HALL reprinted it in his *Common Apology &c.*

On the 18th December 1609, there was entered to WILLIAM WELBY the Publisher, *Contemplative Pictures with wholesome Precepts &c.*, by RICHARD BERNARD (E. ARBER, *Transcript &c.*, iii. 426, Ed. 1876, 4.) No book, with such a title, is known to have been written by BERNARD. We therefore take it to be the entry of the following Work, also published by WELBY.

12. Rev. RICHARD BERNARD. Plain Evidences: the Church of England is apostolical; the Separation, schismatical. London, 1610, 4. In reply to Nos. 6 and 7.

In this book, BERNARD tells us that he had heard of the following Work, but that he had not yet seen it: so we will place it next.

13. Rev. JOHN ROBINSON. A Justification of Separation from the Church of England. 1610, 4. In reply to No. 2.

Then we have,

14. Bishop JOSEPH HALL. A common Apology of the Church of England. London, 1610, 4. In reply to No. 11; which it reprints. This Work was entered at Stationers' Hall on 16th January 1610. (E. ARBER, *Transcript &c.*, iii. 426, Ed. 1876, 4).

This Work practically ends this particular Controversy.

We will describe the extinction of Master SMYTH's Company in the words of Doctor DEXTER.

"JAN MUNTER was a friendly Waterlander. He owned a 'Great Cake House' or bakery; which appears to have had some sort of annex, where men might both meet and lodge. And in the hinder part of this, JOHN SMYTH now seems to have taken refuge, with his little band . . . and, to all appearance, unconnected with any Church organization, spent here the brief remainder of his earthly life.

"For years, a feeble man; in the summer of 1612, he fell sick with consumption. And after seven weeks of increasing debility; on 1st September of that year, he was borne from the Cake House to his burial in the *Niewe Kerk*.

"Late in 1614, what remained of his Company, renewed their old request for admission, to one of the Mennonite Churches; which, 20th January 1615 [*N.S.*] was granted.

"For a short season, a separate English Service was held by them in the Cake House: but it was not long, before they became absorbed among the Dutch; leaving no trace of separate existence visible to history. *The true Story &c.*, pp. 37, 38.

An undated book appeared, apparently in 1613, with the following Title,

The last book of JOHN SMITH called, The Retraction of his Errors; and the Confirmation of the Truth.

T. P. [THOMAS PYGOTT]. A Declaration of the Faith of the English People remaining at Amsterdam in Holland; being the Remainder of Master SMYTH's Company. With an Appendix giving an account of his Sickness and Death. 16mo.

The only known copy of this Work is in York Minster Library. It has been reprinted in ROBERT BARCLAY's *The Inner Life of the Religious Societies of the Commonwealth*, London, 1876, 4.

The Rev. THOMAS HELWYS's Company returned to London about 1613. So, in all, the Gainsborough Church, as such, was in existence about ten years, from 1606 to 1615.

CHAPTER XII.

The settlement of the Scrooby Church at Amsterdam.
October 1607—August 1608.

GOVERNOR BRADFORD thus describes the first impressions of the Nottinghamshire men, on their arrival on the Continent.

Being now come into the Low Countries, they saw many goodly and fortified cities, strongly walled, and guarded with troops of armed men. Also they heard a strange and uncouth language: and beheld the different manners and customs of the people, with their strange fashions and attires; all so far differing from that of their plain country villages, wherein they were bred and had so long lived, as it seemed they were come into a New World.

But these were not the things, they much looked on; or [which] long took up their thoughts: for they had other work in hand, and another kind of war to wage and maintain. For though they saw fair and beautiful cities, flowing with an abundance of all sorts of wealth and riches: yet it was not long before they saw the grim and grisly face of Poverty coming upon them like an armed man; with whom they must buckle and incounter, and from whom they could not fly. But they were armed with faith and patience against him and all his encounters: and though they were sometimes foiled; yet, by GOD's assistance, they prevailed and got the victory.

Now when Master ROBINSON, Master BREWSTER, and other principal members were come over [to Amsterdam] (for they were of the last, and stayed to help the weakest over before them); such things were thought on as were necessary for their settling, and [the] best ordering of the Church affairs. *Bradford M.S.*, folios 39-41.

CHAPTER XIII.

Beautiful Leyden.

DOCTOR H. MARTYN DEXTER (*Congregationalism &c.*, p. 383, Ed. 1880, 8.) gives us the following translation from *Les Delices de Leide*, Ed. 1712:

"Leyden was then a city of some one hundred thousand inhabitants. It was beautiful exceedingly, in its way. One of its French chroniclers described it thus:

The city of Leyden is, without contradiction, one of the grandest, the comeliest, and the most charming, cities of the world.

The cleanness and breadth of its streets; the number of its canals provided with bridges, bordered on either side by lindens, which (during the summer heats) cast delightful shadows where the people make their promenade; the tidiness and elegance of its buildings; and its great number of public Places embellished likewise with lindens or elms; and the extreme neatness of the bricks with which the streets are paved: all this, in former times, caused Polyander, a celebrated Professor, who was housed on the Rapenburg, to boast that he lived in the most beautiful spot in the world.

Which he was wont to prove familiarly thus:

"Of the four quarters of the world, Europe is the noblest and the nicest. The Low Countries are the best part of Europe. Of the Seventeen Provinces of the Low Countries; [the Province of] Holland is the richest,

the most flourishing, and the finest. The most beautiful and altogether charming city [of the Province] of Holland is Leyden. While the handsomest canal and the loveliest street in Leyden is the Rapenburg. Wherefore," concluded he, "I am lodged in the most beautiful spot in the world."

"POLYANDER left Dort to be Professor of Sacred Theology at Leyden not quite two years after ROBINSON and his Company arrived."

CHAPTER XIV.

The British Churches in Leyden.

DURING the period of our Story, in addition to the Pilgrim Church, there was also at Leyden, an organization of the Presbyterian Church of Scotland; to which the City Council successively allotted, as their place of meeting,

St Catherine Gasthuis, from 1609 till 1622;
Jerusalem Kirk, from 1622 till 1644.

The first two Ministers of this Church were

Robert Drurie, from 1609 till his death in 1616;
Henry Goudgier, from 1617 till his death in 1661.

See Rev. William Steven, *History of the Scottish Church, Rotterdam; from* 1614. *With Notices of the other British Churches in the Netherlands*, pp. 314, 315, Edinburgh, 1833, 8.

CHAPTER XV.

The Removal of the Pilgrim Church to Leyden, by Friday, 21 April /1 May 1609.

H. C. M. [the Hon. Henry C. Murphy, of Brooklyn N.Y., at the time United States Minister at the Hague] in the *Historical Magazine*, Vol. III., pp. 357, 358, Boston and New York, 1859, 4.], among some exceedingly valuable contributions to the Pilgrim Story from the official documents at Leyden, thus refers to Mr George Sumner:

"He brings to light the fact that no Church was assigned them, as was customary, by the Municipal Authorities; and that their Pastor was buried in a hired vault: . . . without apparently having once thought of the other fact which overlies those he brings forward; and which is proven by his own examination of the Records of the city, that *the Pilgrims never applied to the city authorities, as did their countrymen under Drurie, for a Place of Worship.*

"The Records of the city, during their residence in Leyden, are extant and complete; and show no application of the sort: but, on the contrary, reveal another application by them, that for denization—in which they are particular to declare, in advance of their coming to Leyden, their independence of all aid whatsoever; in case such liberty should be given them. . .

"The document to which we now refer, appeared in print two years after Mr Sumner's article [*Memoirs of the Pilgrims at Leyden*], in the *Nederlansch Archief voor Kerkelijke Geschiedenis* for 1848, in a Memoir by Professor Kist, of the

University of Leyden, reproducing, with some explanations and additions, the *facts* gathered by Mr SUMNER.

"This Memoir is entitled *JOHN ROBINSON, Minister of the Brownist Congregation of Leyden, the Mother Church of the English Independents, and Founder of the Colony of Plymouth in North America:* and the document is the application, by the Pilgrims, to the authorities of Leyden for denization. . .

"It is taken from the *Gerechts Dags Bœken*, or *Court Registers* of the city, for the 12th of February 1609; and reads as follows:"

TO THE HONOURABLE THE BURGOMASTERS AND COURT OF THE CITY OF LEYDEN.

With due submission and respect; JAN ROBARTHSE, Minister of the Divine Word, and some of the members of the Christian Reformed religion, born in the Kingdom of Great Britain, to the number of one hundred persons or thereabouts, men and women, represent that they are desirous of coming to live in this city, by the first day of May [*N.S.*] next; and to have the freedom thereof in carrying on their trades, without being a burden in the least to any one. They therefore address themselves to your Honours; humbly praying that your Honours will be pleased to grant them free consent to betake themselves, as aforesaid.

This doing, &c.

"There is no date or signature to the document; or name of place where it was written. It is a mere Record or Registration of the Application; and the phrase *in this city* would seem to indicate, either that some of the applicants were present at Leyden at the time; or that the Registrar entered the substance of the petition in his own words.

The action of the Court is given in the margin; and reads as follows:"

The Court, in making a disposition of this present

Memorial, declare that they refuse no honest persons free ingress to come and have their residence in this city; provided that such persons behave themselves, and submit to the laws and ordinances: and, therefore, the coming of the Memorialists will be agreeable and welcome.

Thus done, in their session at the Council House, the 12th day of February, 1609 [*N.S.*].

Done in my presence.

(signed) I. Van Hout.

Governor Bradford gives us the following account of the experiences of the Pilgrim Church at Leyden.

And when they had lived at Amsterdam about a year [1608], Master Robinson their Pastor and some others of best discerning, seeing how Master John Smith and his Company were already [1608] fallen into contention with the Church that was there before them; and no means they could use, would do any good to cure the same: and also that the flames of contention were like[ly] to break out in the Ancient Church itself, as afterwards lamentably came to pass [*on* 15/25 *December* 1610].

Which things they prudently forseeing, thought it was best to remove, before they were any way engaged with the same: though they well knew it would be much to the prejudice of their outward estates; both at present, and in likelihood in the future—as indeed it proved to be.

For these, and some other reasons, they removed to Leyden, a fair and beautiful city, and of a sweet situation: but made more famous by the University wherewith it is adorned; in which, of late, had been so

many learned men. But wanting that traffic by sea which Amsterdam injoys, it was not so beneficial for their outward means of living and estates. But being now here pitched, they fell to such trades and imployments as they best could; valuing peace and their spiritual comfort above any other riches whatsoever: and, at length, they came to raise a competent and comfortable living; but with hard and continual labour.

Being thus settled, after many difficulties; they continued, many years [*April* 1609—*July* 1620], in a comfortable condition, injoying much sweet and delightful society and spiritual comfort together in the Ways of GOD, under the able Ministry and prudent government of Master JOHN ROBINSON; and Master WILLIAM BREWSTER; who was an Assistant unto him, in the place of an Elder, unto which he was now [*i.e. at Leyden*] called, and chosen by the Church. So as they grew in knowledge, and other gifts and graces of the SPIRIT of GOD; and lived together in peace, and love, and holiness.

And many came unto them, from divers parts of England; so as they grew [to] a great Congregation.

And if, at any time, any differences arose or offences broke out, as it cannot be but some time there will, even amongst the best of men; they were ever so met with and nipt in the head betimes, or otherwise so well composed; as still love, peace, and communion were continued: or else the Church purged of those that were incurable and incorrigible, when, after much patience used, no other means would serve; which seldom came to pass.

Yea, such was the mutual love and reciprocal respect

that this worthy man had to his flock; and his flock, to him: that it might be said of them, as it once was, of that famous Emperor MARCUS AURELIUS [ANTONINUS] and the people of Rome, That it was hard to judge whether he delighted more in having such a people, or they in having such a Pastor. *Golden Book &c.** His love was great towards them; and his care was always lent for their best good, both for soul and body. For besides his singular abilities in divine things, wherein he excelled; he was also very able to give directions in civil [*secular*] affairs, and to foresee dangers and inconveniences: by which means he was very helpful to their outward estates; and so was, every way, as a common father unto them.

And none did more offend him than those that were close and cleaving to themselves, and retired from the common good: as also such as would be stiff and rigid in matters of Outward Order; and inveigh against the evils of others, and yet be remiss in themselves, and not so careful to express a virtuous conversation.

They, in like manner, had ever a reverent regard unto him and had him in precious estimation as his worth and wisdom did deserve. And though they esteemed him highly whilst he lived and laboured amongst them: yet much more after his death, when they came to feel the want of his help; and saw, by

* BRADFORD, we fear, would have been very much horrified, if he had known that he was here quoting from the Work of a Roman Catholic Bishop. *The Golden Book of the Emperor MARCUS AURELIUS* was really written by ANTONIO DE GUEVARA, Bishop of MONDOÑEDO; and was translated into English by JOHN BOURCHIER, second Lord BERNERS. Another translation of the same Work, by Sir THOMAS NORTH, was called *The Dial of Princes*. GUEVARA's excellent Works were decidedly popular in England in the reign of Queen ELIZABETH.—E. A.

woeful experience, what a treasure they had lost, to the grief of their hearts and wounding of their souls. Yea, such a loss, as they saw could not be repaired. For it was as hard for them to find such another Leader and Feeder in all respects, as for the Taborites to find another [JOHANN TROCZNOV] ZISKA: and, although they did not call themselves Orphans, as the others [*the Taborites*] did, after his death; yet they had cause, as such, to lament, in another regard, their present condition and after usage.

But to return. I know not but it may be spoken to the honour of GOD, and without prejudice to any, That such was the true piety, the humble zeal, and fervent love, of this people, whilst they thus lived together, towards GOD and his Ways; and the single-heartedness and sincere affection, one towards another; that they came as near the primitive pattern of the first Churches, as any other Church of these later Times has done, according to their rank and quality [in life].

But seeing it is not my purpose to treat of the several Passages that befel this people whilst they thus lived in the Low Countries, which might worthily require a large Treatise of itself; but to make way to shew the Beginning of this Plantation, which is that I aim at: yet, because some of their adversaries did, upon the rumour of their removal, cast out slanders against them, as if that State [*here meaning the Magistrates of Leyden*] had been weary of them; and had rather driven them out (as the heathen historians did feign of MOSES and the Israelites, when they went out of Egypt), than that it was their own free choice and motion—I will therefore mention a particular or two, to shew the contrary; and the good acceptation they had in the place where they lived.

And, first, though many of them were poor; yet there was none so poor but [that], if they were known to be of that Congregation, the Dutch, either bakers or others, would trust them in any reasonable matter, when they wanted money: because they had found by experience, how careful they were to keep their word; and saw them so painful [*painstaking*] and diligent in their callings. Yea, they would strive to get their custom; and to imploy them above others in their work, for their honesty and diligence.

Again, the Magistrates of the City, about the time of their coming away [*July* 1620], or a little before, in the public Place of Justice, gave this commendable testimony of them, in the reproof of the Walloons, who were of the French Church in that city, "These English," said they, "have lived amongst us, now these twelve years [*April* 1609—*July* 1620]; and yet we never had any suit, or accusation came against any of them: but your strifes and quarrels are continual, *&c.*"

In these Times also were the great troubles raised by the Arminians; who as they greatly molested the whole State [of Holland], so this city in particular, in which was the chief University: so as there were daily and hot disputes in the Schools [of the University] thereabout.

And as the students and other learned were divided in their opinions herein; so were the two Professors or Divinity Readers themselves: the one daily teaching for it, the other against it; which grew to that pass, that few of the disciples of the one, would hear the other teach.

But Master ROBINSON, though he taught thrice a week himself, and writ sundry books, besides his

manifold pains otherwise; yet he went constantly to hear their Readings, and heard the one as well as the other: by which means, he was so well grounded in the controversy, and saw the force of all their arguments, and knew the shifts of the adversary.

And being himself very able, none was fitter to buckle with them than himself; as appeared by sundry disputes: so as he began to be terrible to the Arminians. Which made [SIMON BISCOP, *Latinized*] EPISCOPIUS, the Arminian [Divinity] Professor, to put forth his best strength, and set forth sundry *Theses*; which, by public dispute, he would defend against all men.

Now [JOHN] POLYANDER, the other Professor, and [one of] the chief Preachers of the city, desired Master ROBINSON to dispute against him: but he was loath, being a stranger. Yet the other did importune him, and told him, That such was the ability and nimbleness of the adversary, that the truth would suffer, if he did not help them. So as he condescended [*agreed*], and prepared himself against the time.

And when the day came; the LORD did so help him to defend the truth, and foil this adversary, as he put him to an apparent *non plus*, in this great and public audience. And the like, he did a second, or third time, upon such like occasions. The which as it caused many to praise GOD, that the truth had so famous [a] victory; so it procured him much honour and respect from those learned men, and others which loved the truth.

Yea, so far were they from being weary of him and his people, or desiring their absence; as it was said by some of no mean note, That were it not for giving offence to the State of England, they would have preferred him otherwise, if he would; and allowed him some public favour.

Yea, when there was speech of their removal into these parts [of North America]; sundry of note and eminence of that nation [*the Dutch*] would have had them come under them: and for that end, made them large offers.

Now though I might alledge many other particulars and examples of the like kind, to shew the untruth and unlikelihood of this slander; yet these shall suffice: seeing it was believed of few; being only raised by the malice of some, who laboured [for] their disgrace. *Bradford MS.*, folios 41-47.

CHAPTER XVI.

The Purchase of the Rev. John Robinson's house, in Bell Alley, Leyden, on Thursday, 26 April /6 May 1611.

H. C. M. [the Hon. Henry C. Murphy] in the *Historical Magazine*, Vol. III., pp. 330, 331, Boston and New York, 1859, 4, thus writes:

"There is a space of two years, or a little more, between the time of the arrival of Robinson and his flock in Leyden, and the purchase of this house; in which he afterward lived until his death. There is nothing to show where he resided during that short period.

"But, on the 5th of May 1611, a *Transport Brief* or deed, was made to him, in conjunction with three others of his Congregation, of the house and piece of ground in question, nearly opposite the Belfry which stood in the rear of St Peter's Church, and fronting on Pieter's Kerckhoff, or the Clock Steech (*literally translated* Bell Alley), a street between twenty and thirty feet wide. . . :

"Now the fact that the title was taken in the name of four persons in connection with another circumstance, disclosed in another Record; namely, that Robinson was the only one of the four who lived in the house—goes to show that the purchase was for a general object; of which he, the Pastor, was the leader.

"This deed was found recorded in *Register* M. M., page 105, *of Indemnifications* (*Protocollen van Waerbrieven*); and was doubtless so recorded as a security to the Granter, for the balance of the purchase money."

We, PIETER ARENTSZOON DEYMAN and AMELIS VAN HOGEVEEN, Schepens [*Aldermen or Town Magistrates*] in Leyden, make known that before us came JOHAN DE LALAING, declaring, for himself and his heirs, that he had sold, and by these presents does sell, to JAN ROBINSZOON, Minister of GOD's Word of the English Congregation in this city, WILLEM JEPSON, HENRY WOOD, and RAYNULPH [=*RALPH*] TICKENS, who has married JANE WHITE—jointly and each for himself an equal fourth part—a house and ground, with a garden situated on the west side thereof, standing and being in this city on the south side of the Pieter's Kerckhoff [*grounds of Peter's Church*] near the Belfry; formerly called the Groene Port [*Green Gate*].

Bounded and having situated on the one side, eastwardly, a certain small room, which the Comparant [*the Appearer or Granter*] reserves to himself; being over the door of the house hereby sold: next thereto is WILLEM SIMONSZOON VAN DER WILDE; and next to him, the residence of the Commandarije. And on the other side, westwardly, having the Widow and Heirs of HUYCK VAN ALCKEMADE; and next to him, the Comparant himself; and next to him is the Donckere Graft [*the Dark Canal*], which is also situated on the west of the aforesaid garden (; and next to it, is the Falide Bagynhoff [*Veiled Nuns' Cloister*]) extending from the street of the Kerckhoff aforesaid, to the rear of the Falide Bagynhoff beforenamed.

All, and so, as the aforesaid house is at present built and made, used and occupied; with everything thereto attached [aert-ennagelvast, *fastened to the ground* or *nailed*], to him, the Comparant, belonging: subject to a yearly rent charge of eleven stivers and twelve pence

[= *say* 20 *English pence then*] * payable to the Heer VAN POELGEEST.

And he, the Comparant, promises the aforesaid house and ground, upon the conditions aforesaid, to warrant and defend from all other incumbrances with which the same may be charged, for a year and a day, and for ever, as is just: hereby binding thereto all his property, moveable and immoveable, now owned, or hereafter to be owned by him, without any exception.

Further making known that he, the Comparant, is paid for the aforesaid purchase, and fully satisfied therewith, the sum of eight thousand guilders * [= £1,400 *English then*], the last penny with the first: and that with a purchase money lien — two thousand guilders [= £350 *English then*], being paid down; and five hundred guilders [£87, 10*s*. *English then*] to be paid in May 1612, and annually thereafter, until all be paid.

And this all in good faith, and without fraud.

In witness of these presents, we have set our seals, the 5th of May 1611.

(Signed) J. SWANENBURCH.

"The Grantees in this conveyance, besides ROBINSON himself, were members of his Congregation; as we find by the Record of Marriages. None of them went to America.

"JEPSON bought out the interest of the others, on the 13th of December 1629, after ROBINSON's death. He is described in this second conveyance as a Carpenter.

"TICKENS was the brother-in-law of ROBINSON; whose

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* A Dutch Single Stiver = 1⅝ English Penny; and as 20 Single Stivers went to the Carolus Guilder, that would, theoretically, have been worth 2*s*. 8½*d*. English money. But, actually, the Carolus Guilder seems to have been worth, in the way of exchange, 3*s*. 6*d*.—E. A.

wife BRIDGET was the sister of JANE WHITE. ROGER WHITE, who communicated from Leyden, to Governor BRADFORD, the death of ROBINSON, was the brother of Mrs ROBINSON. From the circumstance that JANE WHITE's name is mentioned in the deed, it may be inferred that the money for TICKENS' share came from her. TICKENS is described as a Looking-Glass Maker.

"In 1637, JEPSON, who had become the sole owner, having died; the property was conveyed by the Guardians of his children, to STOFFEL JANSZOON ELLIS: and thus ceased to be held any longer by the Brownists.

"The house was taken down, with a number of others, in 1681-3, for the purpose of erecting a *Hof* for the Walloons; still remaining, called *Pesyn's Hof* [*A Home for aged Walloons.*] There are over forty of these *Hofs* in Leyden."

CHAPTER XVII.

The Inmates of the Rev. John Robinson's house in Bell Alley, Leyden; on Saturday, 5/15 October 1622.

H. C. M. [the Hon. Henry C. Murphy] states, in the *Historical Magazine* III., 332, Boston and New York, 1859, 4, that

"The other Record to which we referred as showing that Robinson alone resided in the house—excepting, of course, the room over the door, reserved by Johan de Lalaing—is a List of those rated for a Poll Tax, on the 15th of October 1622, in the Bon or Wyk (that is, a small district set off for municipal purposes), called The Seven Houses.

"The only persons mentioned as living in this house are those composing Robinson's family; making, with himself, nine in all. They are named as follows:"

John Robinson, Minister.
Brugitta [*Bridget*] Robinson, his wife.

James Brugitta Isaac Mercy Fear Jacob	} Robinson's children.

Mary Hardy, Maid-servant.

"The only further mention of any portion of the family

that we have noticed, is the marriage of the daughter BRIDGET, on the 10th and 26th May 1629 [*N.S.*], to JOHN GRYNWICH, Student of Theology, Young Man.

"On that occasion, ROBINSON's Widow attended as a witness."

In this connection, it may be useful to record the following fact concerning the third child above mentioned.

A fragment of Judge SEWALL's *Journal*, during his judicial circuit in the Old Colony, in 1702, reads thus.

Saturday, April 4th. Saw Lieut. HOWLAND upon the road; who tells us, he was born February 24th 1626, at our Plymouth.

Visit Master [ISAAC] ROBINSON, who saith, He is 92 years old; is the son of Master ROBINSON, Pastor of the Church of Leyden; part of which came to Plymouth. But, to my disappointment, he came not to New England till the year [1631] in which Master WILSON was returning to England; after the settlement of Boston.

I told him [I] was very desirous to see him; for his father's sake, and his own. Gave him an Arabian piece of gold, to buy a book for some of his grandchildren.

Historical Magazine, Vol. IV., p. 6, Boston and New York, 1860, 4.

CHAPTER XVIII.

The Marriages of Forefathers that were registered at the Stadhuis, or City Hall, Leyden; between 1611 and 1621.

H. C. M. [the Hon. Henry C. Murphy] in the *Historical Magazine*, Vol. III., pp. 261-263, 359, Boston and New York, 1859, 4, states:

"The Registrar, or Clerk, spelt the names according to his own ear, and the powers of the Dutch alphabet. The consequence is that there is hardly a name, either of a person or place, of English derivation correctly spelt. Still, in most of the cases, the English name shines through the Dutch covering sufficiently distinct. In those cases, in which we have not been able to recognise it, we give the orthography as it is in the Record, and in italics.

"The Minute of each marriage is very full, giving, as it were, a succinct history of the previous condition in life of both parties. It furnishes the dates of the First Publication of the Bans, and of the Marriage; the names of the parties to the ceremony; the occupation of the Bridegroom; the places of birth of both; their previous condition as to marriage, whether widowed or not; and if widowed, the name of the deceased: and is accompanied by the names of two or three friends, on each side, to prove their identity.

"The names which occur of the Pilgrims are not very numerous; though there is a goodly number of them, and some of the most distinguished.

"For convenience we will take them up in the order of the arrival of the ships in America."

I. *Those who came over in* 1620, *in the* Mayflower.

1611, October 4, November 4.—DEGORY PRIEST, of London, in England; accompanied by WILLIAM LYSLE, and SAMUEL FULLER, as witnesses, with
SARAH VINCENT, of London, Widow of JOHN VINCENT; accompanied by JANE *DIGGENS*, and ROSAMOND JEPSON, as witnesses.

"DEGORY PRIEST died in the general sickness which carried off so many of the First Comers, shortly after his arrival in America. His Wife did not accompany him in the *Mayflower*.

"It appears by a subsequent Minute in this Record, that she married again, on the 13th of November 1621, with GODDARD GODBERT; and is there called 'SARAH ALLERTON, Widow of DEGORY PRIEST.'

"She was probably related to ISAAC ALLERTON, as we find the marriage of the latter on the same day as hers with DEGORY PRIEST, as follows:" [*see page* 376.]

1611. October 4, November 4.—ISAAC ALLERTON, Young Man (*that is, having never been married before*), of London, in England; accompanied by EDWARD SOUTHWORTH, RICHARD MASTERSON, and RANULPH [= *RALPH*] TICKENS, as witnesses, with
MARY NORRIS, Maid, of Newbury, in England; accompanied by ANNA FULLER, and *DILLEN* CARPENTER as witnesses.

"ISAAC ALLERTON who, upon the death of JOHN CARVER the first Governor of the Colony, was chosen Assistant, was, as we learn from another Record, a Tailor."

1612. January 27, February 1.—WILLIAM WHITE, Wool

Carder, Young Man, of England, accompanied by WILLIAM JEPSON and SAMUEL FULLER, with
ANNA FULLER, Maid, of England, accompanied by ROSAMOND JEPSON, and SARAH PRIEST.

"WILLIAM WHITE died shortly after reaching America; and his Widow became the second Wife of EDWARD WINSLOW, whose first marriage we find in our Record."

1613. March 15, April 30. — SAMUEL FULLER, Say [*This word means* Silk, *also* Satin, *and likewise* Serge] Maker, of London, in England; Widower of ELSIE GLASCOCK; accompanied by ALEXANDER CARPENTER, WILLIAM HOYT his brother in law, ROGER WILSON, and EDWARD SOUTHWORTH, with
AGNES CARPENTER, Maid, of Wrentham, in England; accompanied by AGNES WHITE, and ALICE CARPENTER her sister.

"SAMUEL FULLER was the future Physician of the Colony. AGNES, his Wife by this marriage, did not live long: and he married, as we will presently see, his third Wife in Leyden.

"ALICE CARPENTER became the second Wife of Governor BRADFORD. She came to America a Widow."

1613. November 8, November 30. — WILLIAM BRADFORD, Fustian [*This word now means* Corduroy, *also* Moleskin, *and likewise* Velveteen] Maker, Young Man, of Austerfield, in England, with
DOROTHY MAY of *Witzbuts* [? Wisbeach], in England. Is not identified; but presents a Certificate.

"DOROTHY MAY was drowned on the 7th of December 1620, in Cape Cod harbour. Her father is mentioned by ROGER WHITE in a letter, from Leyden, to Governor BRADFORD, in 1625."

1613. November 30, December 21.—MOSES FLETCHER, Smith, of England, Widower of MARIA EVANS; accompanied by WILLIAM LYSLE, and WILLIAM BRADFORD, with
SARAH DINGBY, also of England, Widow of WILLIAM DINGBY, accompanied by SARAH PRIEST, and MARGARET SAVERY.

"MOSES FLETCHER died in the general sickness."

1617. May 12, May 27. — SAMUEL FULLER, Say Maker, of England, Widower of ANNA CARPENTER; accompanied by SAMUEL LEE his future brother in law, with
BRIDGET LEE, Maid, of England; accompanied by *JOOS* LEE, her mother.

1618. May 27, May 16.—EDWARD WINSLOW, Printer, Young Man, of London, in England; accompanied by JONATHAN WILLIAMS, and ISAAC ALLERTON, with
ELIZABETH BARKER, Maid, from *Chatsum* (Chester?), in England; accompanied by JANE *PHESEL*, her niece; and MARY ALLERTON.

II. *Those who came over in* 1621, *in the* Fortune.

"The first of these was WILLIAM BASSETT. His Bans were published first with MARY BUTLER, on the 19th of March 1611; but she died before the third publication.

"He soon found, however, another bride."

1611. July 29, August 13. — WILLIAM BASSETT, Englishman, Widower of CECIL *LECHT*; accompanied by ROGER WILSON, and EDWARD GODDARD, with
MARGARET OLDHAM, Maid, from England; accompanied by *WYBRAN PAUTES*, [? PANTES] and ELIZABETH NEAL.

"In the division of the lands by the General Court of

the Colony, on the 22nd of May 1627, the name of the Wife of WILLIAM BASSETT is given as ELIZABETH BASSETT, as there are two of that name mentioned in his family."

1617. May 19, June 3. — ROBERT CUSHMAN, Wool Carder, of Canterbury, in England; Widower of SARAH CUSHMAN; accompanied by JOHN KEBEL with
MARY CHINGLETON (? SINGLETON), of Sandwich, Widow of THOMAS CHINGLETON; accompanied by CATHERINE CARVER [*the wife of JOHN CARVER*].

III. *Those who came over in* 1623, *in the* Ann *and* Little James.

1612. July 6, July 23.—GEORGE MORTON, Englishman, of York, in England, Merchant; accompanied by his brother THOMAS MORTON, and ROGER WILSON;
with
JULIA ANN CARPENTER, Maid, accompanied by her father, ALEXANDER CARPENTER, her sister ALICE CARPENTER, and ANNA ROBINSON; as witnesses.

1614. Sept. 5, November 1. JOHN JENNE[Y], Young Man, Brewer's Man, of Norwich, in England; living in Rotterdam; accompanied by ROGER WILSON;
with
SARAH CAREY, Maid, of *Moncksoon*, in England; accompanied by JOANNA LYONS.

"The last of the Forefathers whom we have been enabled to discover in this List, is STEPHEN TRACY."

1620. December 18, 1621, January 2nd.—STEPHEN TRACY, Say Maker, Young Man, from England; accompanied by ANTHONY CLEMENS; with

TRIFASA LE——, Maid, of England; accompanied by PRUCE JENNINGS.

"There were some who came to America afterwards; but they are not reckoned among the First Comers.

"The only one of them, however, whom we have been enabled to discover, is RICHARD MASTERSON; who was of the number who, in 1625, addressed a letter to BRADFORD and BREWSTER."

1619. November 8, November 26.—RICHARD MASTERSON, Wool Carder, Young Man, of Sandwich, in England; accompanied by WILLIAM TALBOT, and JOHN ELLIS his brother in law, with

MARY GOODALL, Maid, of Leicester, in England; accompanied by ELIZABETH *KIBBEL* [? KEBLE] and MARY FINCH.

CHAPTER XIX.

Other Marriages of English Exiles registered at the Stadhuis, or City Hall, Leyden; between 1610 and 1617.

H. C. M. [the Hon. Henry C. Murphy] continues, "There are others of Robinson's Congregation, in this Record, who did not emigrate to America; as we may judge from the names of the witnesses.

"Thus William Brewster is given as a Witness:
on behalf of William Pantes, Fustian Maker,* from near Dover, on his marriage
with *Wybra* Hauson, Maid, on the 4th December 1610:

on behalf of Raynulph [=*Ralph*] Tickens, Young Man, of London;
with Jane White, Maid, of *Bebel*, on the 11th of April 1611:

and for William Buckrum, Block Maker, Young Man, of

* With the exception of Thomas Brewer, who was a Gentleman, and a landed proprietor, of Kent; and of Merchants, like George Morton, Edward Pickering, &c.: most of the members of the Pilgrim Church, during their stay in Holland, had to support themselves by handicrafts; whether they had done so before in England, or not. It was the only possible way of getting a living in a Dutch *city*, at that time. Governor Bradford tells us, at page 87, that the Scrooby contingent were agriculturists. Commerce, Fishing, Handicrafts, and Agriculture were the four chief ways in which the Dutch then made their money.—E. A.

Ipswich;
with ELIZABETH NEAL, Maid, of Scrooby, on the 17th of December 1611.

"WILLIAM BRADFORD is, in the same manner, witness at the marriage
of HENRY CRULLINS, Bombazine Worker, Widower, of England, residing at Amsterdam;
with ELIZABETH PETTINGER, Maid, of *Moortel*, on the 20th of November 1613.

"And JOHN CARVER appears, in the same capacity, on behalf
of JOHN *GILLIES*, Merchant, of Essex; Widower of Elizabeth Pettinger; on his marriage
with ROSE LYSLE, Maid, of Yarmouth, on the 23rd of March 1617."

CHAPTER XX.

THE REGISTRATION AT THE STADHUIS, OR CITY HALL, OF SUCH MEMBERS OF THE PILGRIM CHURCH AS WERE ADMITTED CITIZENS, OR FREEMEN, OF LEYDEN; BETWEEN 1612 AND 1615.

FROM the *Book of Admissions*. The number was only three.

1612. March 30. — WILLIAM BRADFORD, Englishman; admitted upon the proof and security of ROGER WILSON and WILLIAM LYSLE.

1614. February 7.—ISAAC ALLERTON, Englishman, of London; admitted upon the proof and security of ROGER WILSON and HENRY WOOD.

1615. November 16.—DEGORY PRIEST, Hatter, of England; admitted upon the proof and security of ROGER WILSON, Say Draper, and ISAAC ALLERTON, Tailor.

H. C. M. [the Hon. HENRY C. MURPHY] as before.

CHAPTER XXI.

The Members of the Pilgrim Church, and some other British subjects, who matriculated at Leyden University. 1609—1620.

DOCTOR W. N. DU RIEU, the present Chief Librarian of this famous University, has published, as a tercentenary memorial of its foundation, a nominal List of all the Rectors, Curators, Professors, and Students of the University in the city of Leyden, under the title of *Album Studiosorum Academiæ Lugduno Batavæ*, 1575—1875. *Accedunt nomina Curatorum et Professorum per eadem secula.* Hagæ Comitum, 1875, 4.

From this list, we extract six names: three only of which, Braeber [= Brewer], Robinson, and Brewster, seem to be members of the Separatist Church at Leyden; though, as appears from page 187, Bastwick attended that Church while studying at the University.

From the fact of married men, well on in life, matriculating; it would seem that doing so, gave position in Leyden society.

17/27 April 1610. Robertus Duræus, [æt.] 55, Anglicanæ Ecclesiæ Min.

Notice that this Minister of the Scotch Presbyterian Church is called the Minister of the English Church.

7/17 February 1615. Thomas Braeber, Anglus, [æt.] 35, L. [Litterarum Studiosus.]

We take this to be the matriculation of THOMAS BREWER, of whom so much is said at pp. 195-247. His name, properly spelt, does not occur in this *Album*. It happens, however, that his Christian name, THOMAS, was an extremely infrequent one among the Students: so that, combined with the word *Englishman*, would seem to settle the matter. As he is stated, at page 247, to have been 65 when he died in December 1640; the above age also roughly agrees.

26 August /5 September 1615. JOANNES ROBINTSONUS, Anglus, [æt.] 39, T. [Theologiæ Studiosus].

Notice that the Register does not say that he was the "Minister of the English Church," as it said of DRURY.

Doctor H. MARTYN DEXTER (*Congregationalism &c.*, p. 360, New York, 1880, 8.) gives us the full wording of this entry.

September 5, 1615. Coss. permissu [*After leave by the Magistrates*], JOANNES ROBINTS[ONUS — *evidently subsequently added*]; Anglus, an. xxxix, Stud. Theol: alit familiam [*He has a family*].

4/14 January 1617. JOANNES BASTWYCK, Anglus, [æt.] 22, P. et Pol. [Philosophiæ et Politices Studiosus.]

[*see page* 186]

30 August /9 September 1617. ALEXANDER LEIGHTON, Anglus Londinensis, [æt.] 40, M. Cand. [Medicinæ Candidatus.]

12/22 May 1619. ROBERTUS BREWSTER, Anglus, [æt.] 20, L. [Litterarum Studiosus.]

CHAPTER XXII.

Governor Bradford's panegyric of the Church Order of the exiled English Churches at Amsterdam and Leyden.

FTER what has gone before, the Reader cannot accept this rose-coloured description, written in 1648, some thirty years after the events, as an accurate and complete statement of affairs.

One cause of satisfaction there would undoubtedly be, That whatever the merits or the demerits, of the organization might be; it had this crowning advantage, That it originated from the people: and was not imposed upon them from above, by an act of royal authority.

Truly, there were in them [*those two Churches that were so long in exile*] many worthy men; and, if you had seen them in their beauty and order as we have done, you would have been much affected therewith, we dare say.

At Amsterdam, before their division and breach, they were about three hundred communicants. And they had for their Pastor and Teacher, those two eminent men before named [Francis Johnson and Henry Ainsworth]; and, in our time [1607—1609], four grave men for Ruling Elders; and three able and godly men for Deacons: one ancient Widow for a Deaconess; who did them service many years, though she was sixty years of age when she was chosen. She honoured her place, and was an ornament to the Congregation. She usually sat in a convenient place in the Congregation, with a little birchen rod in her hand;

and kept little children in great awe, from disturbing the Congregation. She did frequently visit the sick and weak, especially women ; and, as there was need, called out Maids and young Women to watch, and do them other helps, as their necessity did require : and, if they were poor, she would gather relief for them, of those that were able ; or acquaint the Deacons. And she was obeyed as a Mother in Israel, and an Officer of CHRIST.

And for the Church of Leyden, they were sometimes not much fewer in number ; nor at all inferior in able men : though they had not so many Officers as the other. For they had but one Ruling Elder [WILLIAM BREWSTER] with their Pastor ; a man well approved and of great integrity. Also they had three able men for Deacons [JOHN CARVER, SAMUEL FULLER, and ?]. And that which was a crown unto them, they lived together in love and peace all their days ; without any considerable differences, or any disturbance that grew thereby, but such as was easily healed in love : and so they continued until, with mutual consent, they removed into New England. And what their condition hath been since, some of you that are of their children do see and can tell.

Many worthy and able men there were, in both places, who lived and died in obscurity in respect of the World, as private Christians : yet were they precious in the eyes of the LORD, and also in the eyes of such as knew them. Whose virtues we, with such of you as are their children, do follow and imitate. *First Dialogue &c.*, Printed in A. YOUNG's *Chronicles &c.*, pp. 455, 456, 1841, 8.

But for all the above ; the mutual hatred between members of the Reverend HENRY AINSWORTH's Church, and the Reverend JOHN ROBINSON's, will frequently crop up in the following Story..

CHAPTER XXIII.

The Rev. John Robinson and the Pilgrim Church at Leyden; and their relations to the other Reformed Churches. 1609—1625.

GOVERNOR BRADFORD is very brief here, as often elsewhere; where we should have been very thankful, if he had said more.

Master John Robinson was Pastor of that famous Church at Leyden in Holland; a man not easily to be paralleled for all things: whose singular virtues we shall not take upon us here to describe; neither need we, for they so well are known both by friends and enemies.

As he was a man learned, and of solid judgement, and of a quick and sharp wit; so was he also of a tender conscience, and very sincere in all his ways; a hater of hypocrisy and dissimulation, and would be very plain with his best friends. He was very courteous, affable, and sociable in his conversation; and towards his own people especially.

He was an acute and expert disputant, very quick and ready; and had much bickering with the Arminians, who stood more in fear of him than [of] any of the University [of Leyden].

He was never satisfied in himself until he had searched any cause, or argument, he had to deal in, thoroughly and to the bottom. And we have heard him

sometimes say to his familiars, That, many times, both in writing and disputation, he knew he had sufficiently answered others; but, many times, not himself. And [he] was ever desirous of *any* light: and the more able, learned, and holy the persons were; the more he desired to confer and reason with them.

He was very profitable in his Ministry, and comfortable to his people. He was much beloved of them: and as loving was he to them; and entirely sought their good for body and soul.

In a word, he was much esteemed and reverenced of all that knew him; and his abilities [were acknowledged] both of friends and strangers.

But we resolved to be brief in this matter; leaving you to better and more large information herein from others.

First Dialogue &c. [Written in 1648.] Printed in A. YOUNG's *Chronicles of the Pilgrim Fathers*, pp. 451-452, 1841, 8.

THE ECCLESIASTICAL POSITION OF THE PILGRIM CHURCH AT LEYDEN. 1609—1625.

Governor WINSLOW thus defines the ecclesiastical position of the Pilgrim Church; and in doing so, gives us ROBINSON's celebrated Farewell Address to the *Mayflower* Pilgrims.

Having thus briefly shewed that the foundation of our New England Plantations was not laid upon schism, division, or separation; but upon love, peace, and holiness: yea, such love and mutual care of the Church of Leyden for the spreading of the Gospel, the welfare

of each other, and their posterities to succeeding generations, as is seldom found on earth. And having shewed also that the Primitive Churches are the only pattern which the Churches of CHRIST in New England have in their eye; not following LUTHER, CALVIN, KNOX, AINSWORTH, ROBINSON, AMES, or any other, further than they follow CHRIST and his Apostles: I am earnestly requested to clear up another gross mistake which caused many, and still doth, to judge the harder of New England, and the Churches there: "because," say they, "the Church of Plymouth, which went first to Leyden, were Schismatics, Brownists, Rigid Separatists, &c.; having Master ROBINSON for their Pastor: who made, and to the last professed, separation from other the Churches of CHRIST, &c. And the rest of the Churches in New England, holding communion with that Church, are to be reputed such as they are."

For answer to this aspersion. First, he that knew Master ROBINSON, either by his doctrine daily taught; or hath read his *Apology* published [*in its English version in* 1625] not long before his death; or knew the practice of that Church of CHRIST under his government; or was acquainted with the wholesome counsel he gave that part of the Church which went for New England at their departure, and afterward: might easily resolve the doubt, and take off the aspersion.

For his doctrine (I living three years [1617—1620] under his Ministry, before we began the work of Plantation in New England), it was always against separation from any [of] the Churches of CHRIST; professing and holding communion both with the French

and Dutch [Reformed] Churches ; yea, tendering it to the Scots also, as I shall make appear more particularly anon : ever holding forth how wary persons ought to be in separating from a Church; and that till CHRIST the LORD departed wholly from it, manought not to leave it, only to bear witness against the corruption that was in it.

But if any object, He separated from the Church of England, aud wrote largely against it. I acknowledge he wrote largely against it : but yet, let me tell you, he allowed hearing the godly Ministers [of that Church] preach and pray [*i.e. in extempore prayer*] in the Public Assemblies. Yea, he allowed private communion not only with them; but [with] all that were faithful in CHRIST JESUS in the Kingdom of England] and elsewhere, upon all occasions: yea [honoured them [*the Puritan Anglican Clergy*], for the power of godliness, above all the other Professors of religion in the world. Nay, I may truly say, his spirit cleaved unto them [*the Puritan Anglican Clergy*], being so well acquainted with the integrity of their hearts, and care to walk blameless in their lives : which was no small motive to him to persuade us to remove from Holland [to] where we might probably not only continue English; but have and maintain such sweet communion with the godly of that nation, as through GOD's great mercy we enjoy this day.

'Tis true, I confess, he was more rigid in his course and way at first, than towards his latter end. For his study was peace and union, so far as might agree with faith and a good conscience ; and for schism and division, there was nothing in the world more hateful to him. But for the government of the Church of England as it was in the Episcopal Way; the Liturgy and stinted *Prayers* of the Church then ; yea, the constitution of it

as National, and so consequently the corrupt communion of the unworthy, with the worthy, receivers of the LORD'S Supper: these things were never approved of him, but witnessed against, to his death; and are by the Church over which he was, to this day. . . .

In the next place, I should speak of Master ROBINSON'S *Apology*; wherein he maketh a brief defence against many adversaries, &c. But because it is both in Latin [*Apologia justa &c.*, 1619] and English [*A just and necessary Apology &c.*, 1625 and 1644], of small price [*i.e. cheap in price*], and easy to be had: I shall forbear to write of it; and only refer the Reader to it, for the differences between his Congregation and other the Reformed Churches.

The next thing I would have the Reader take notice of is, That however the Church of Leyden differed in some particulars; yet [it] made no schism or separation from the Reformed Churches: but held communion with them occasionally. For we ever placed a large difference between those that grounded their practice upon the Word of GOD, though differing from us in the exposition or understanding of it; and those that hated such Reformers and Reformation, and went on in antichristian opposition to it and persecution of it, as the late Lord Bishops did. . . .

As for the Dutch, it was usual for our members that understood the language, and lived in, or occasionally came over to, London [*? Leyden*], to communicate with them: as one JOHN JENNEY, a brewer, his wife and family, &c., long did; and without any offence to the Church.

So also for any that had occasion to travel into any other part of the Netherlands; they daily [*that is, not every day; but usually*] did the like.

And our Pastor, Master ROBINSON, in the time when Arminianism prevailed so much, at the request of the most orthodox Divines as [JOHN] POLYANDER, FESTUS HOMMIUS, &c., disputed daily [?1616] in the Academy at Leyden, against [SIMON BISCHOP, *or*] EPISCOPIUS and others, the grand champions of that error [*Arminianism*]; and had as good respect amongst them, as any of their own Divines. Insomuch as when GOD took him away from them and us by death; the University and Ministers of the city accompanied him to his grave with all their accustomed solemnities: bewailing the great loss that not only that particular Church had, whereof he was Pastor; but some of the Chief of them sadly [*soberly*] affirmed, That *all* the Churches of CHRIST sustained a loss by the death of that worthy Instrument of the Gospel.

I could instance also divers of their members [*i.e. of the Dutch Reformed Church*] that understood the English tongue, and betook themselves to the communion of our Church; [who] went with us to New England, as GODBERT GODBERTSON [*afterwards corrupted to* CUTHBERT CUTHBERTSON], &c. Yea, at this very instant [1646], another called MOSES SYMONSON [*or* SIMONSON; *afterwards corrupted to* SIMMONS], because [he was] a child of one that was in communion with the Dutch Church at Leyden, is admitted into Church fellowship at Plymouth in New England; and his children also to baptism as well as our own. And other Dutch [are] also in communion at Salem, &c.

And as for the French [Reformed] Churches, that we held, and do hold, communion with them, take notice of our practice at Leyden, viz. That one SAMUEL TERRY [FERRIER, *as at page* 274] was received, from the

French Church there, into communion with us. Also [HESTER COOKE] the wife of FRANCIS COOKE, being a Walloon, holds communion with the Church at Plymouth, as she came from the French, to this day; by virtue of communion of Churches.

There is also one PHILIP DE LA NOYE [*afterwards corrupted to* DELANO], born of French parents, came to us from Leyden, to New Plymouth: who, coming to age of discerning, demanded also communion with us; and, proving himself to be come of such parents as were in full communion with the French Churches, was hereupon admitted by the Church of Plymouth. And after, upon his removal of habitation to Duxbury, where Master RALPH PARTRIDGE is Pastor of the Church; and upon Letters of Recommendation from the Church at Plymouth: he was also admitted into fellowship with the Church at Duxbury, being six miles distant from Plymouth. And so, I dare say, if his occasions lead him, may [be admitted] from Church to Church throughout New England.

For the truth is, the Dutch and French Churches, either of them, being a people distinct from the World, and gathered into a holy communion (and not National Churches—nay, so far from it, as I verily believe, the sixth person [of the population] is not of the [Reformed] Church); the difference is so small, if moderately pondered, between them and us, as we dare not, for the world, deny communion with them.

And for the Church of Scotland, however we have had least occasion offered to hold communion with them; yet thus much I can and do affirm:

That a godly Divine [DAVID CALDERWOOD] coming over to Leyden in Holland, where a book was printed,

anno 1619, as I take it, showing the nullity of [the] Perth Assembly *; whom we judged to be the author of it, and [who was] hidden in Holland for a season, to avoid the rage of those evil times: whose name I have forgotten. This man, being very conversant with our Pastor, Master ROBINSON; and using to come to hear him on the Sabbath: after Sermon ended, the Church being to partake in the LORD's Supper, this Minister stood up and desired [that] he might, without offence, stay and see the manner of his administration [of], and [of] our participation in, that Ordinance.

To whom our Pastor answered in these very words, or to this effect: "Reverend Sir, You may not only stay to behold us; but partake with us, if you please: for we acknowledge the Churches of Scotland to be the Churches of CHRIST, &c."

The Minister also replied to this purpose, if not also

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* That CALDERWOOD was the author of the book entitled *Perth Assembly*, 1619; he tells us himself, in the following passage in his *The True History of the Church of Scotland*, p. 732, Ed. 1678, fol.

"The same day afternoon [Friday, 11/21 June 1619], after the King's letter was read in the Secret Council [*the Privy Council of Scotland, at Edinburgh*] the Captain of the Guard was directed immediately to search JAMES CATHKINE, RICHARD LAWSON, and ANDREW HART, Booksellers [at Edinburgh], their booths and houses; for all writs [*writings*] books and pamphlets, as it pleased them to call them, set forth against [the] Perth Assembly [of 25th-27th August 1618]: and, in special, the book entituled *Perth Assembly*, which was spread [*distributed*] in the beginning of June [1619]. But neither the book, nor the author Master DAVID CALDERWOOD, was found. . . .

"The Author of the book, from this time forth, removed from place to place, as the LORD provided for him, till the 27th of August [1619, *O.S.*]; at which time he embarked, and departed out of the country."

How the printing, by WILLIAM BREWSTER, of CALDERWOOD's two books *Perth Assembly*, and *De regimine Ecclesiæ Scoticanæ brevis Relatio.* led to the suppression of the Pilgrim Press at Leyden, is fully told at pp., 195-247.—E. A.

in the[se] same words: "That, for his part, he could comfortably partake with the Church; and willingly would: but that it is possible some of his brethren of Scotland might take offence at his act; which he desired to avoid, in regard of the opinion the English Churches (which they held communion withal) had of us." However he rendered thanks to Master ROBINSON; and. desired, in that respect, to be only a spectator of us. . .

In the next place, for the wholesome counsel, Master ROBINSON gave that part of the Church whereof he was Pastor, at their departure from him [1620], to begin the great work of Plantation in New England.

Amongst other wholesome instructions and exhortations, he used these expressions, or to the same purpose:

We were now, ere long, to part asunder; and the LORD knoweth whether ever he should live to see our faces again. But whether the LORD had appointed it or not; he charged us, before GOD and his blessed angels, to follow him no further than he followed CHRIST: and if GOD should reveal anything to us by any other Instrument of his, to be as ready to receive it, as ever we were to receive any truth by his Ministry. For he was very confident the LORD had more truth and light yet to break forth out of his holy Word.

He took occasion also miserably to bewail the state and condition of the Reformed Churches, who were come to a period [*full stop*] in religion; and would go no further than the Instruments of their Reformation. As, for example, the Lutherans: they could not be drawn to go beyond what LUTHER saw. For whatever part of GOD's will, he had further imparted and revealed to

CALVIN; they will rather die than embrace it. "And so, also," saith he, "you see the Calvinists. They stick where he left them: a misery much to be lamented.

"For though they were precious shining lights in their Times; yet GOD had not revealed his whole will to them: and were they now living," saith he, "they would be as ready and willing to embrace further light, as that they had received."

Here also he put us in mind of our Church Covenant; at least that part of it whereby "we promise and covenant with GOD, and one with another, to receive whatsoever light or truth shall be made known to us from his written Word": but withal exhorted us to take heed what we received for truth; and well to examine and compare, and weigh it with other Scriptures of truth before we received it. "For," saith he, "it is not possible the Christian World should come so lately out of such thick antichristian darkness; and that full perfection of knowledge should break forth at once."

Another thing he commended to us, was that we should use all means to avoid and shake off the name of "Brownist"; being a mere nickname and brand to make religion odious, and the Professors of it, to the Christian World. "And to that end," said he, "I should be glad if some godly Minister would go over with you, before my coming. For," said he, "there will be no difference between the unconformable Ministers [*the Puritan Anglican Clergy*] and you; when they come to the practice of the Ordinances out of the Kingdom." And so advised us, by all means, to endeavour to close with the godly party of the Kingdom of England: and rather to study union than division, viz.: How near we might possibly, without sin, close with them; than, in the least measure, to affect division or separation from

them. "And be not loath to take another Pastor or Teacher," saith he; "for that Flock that hath two Shepherds is not indangered; but secured by it."

Many other things there were of great and weighty consequence, which he commended to us. But these things I thought good to relate, at the request of some well-willers to the peace and good agreement of the godly—so distracted at present [1646] about the settling of Church Government in the Kingdom of England—that so both sides may truly see what this poor despised Church of CHRIST, now at New Plymouth in New England, but formerly at Leyden in Holland, was, and is; [and] how far they were, and still are, from separation from the Churches of CHRIST, especially those that are Reformed.

'Tis true, we profess and desire to practice a separation from the World and the works of the World; which are works of the flesh, such as the Apostle speaketh of. Ephes. v. 19-21, 1 Cor. vi. 9-11, Ephes. ii. 11, 12. And as the Churches of CHRIST are all Saints by Calling; so we desire to see the grace of GOD shining forth, at least seemingly (leaving secret things to GOD), in all we admit into Church fellowship with us: and to keep off such as openly wallow in the mire of their sins: that neither the holy things of GOD, nor the communion of the Saints, may be leavened or polluted thereby.

And if any (joining to us formerly either when we lived at Leyden in Holland, or since we came to New England) have, with the manifestation of their faith and profession of holiness, held forth therewith separation from the Church of England: I have, divers times, both in the one place and the other, heard either Master

ROBINSON our Pastor, or Master BREWSTER our Elder, stop them forthwith: shewing them, That we required no such things at their hands; but only to hold forth faith in CHRIST JESUS, holiness in the fear of GOD, and submission to every ordinance and appointment of GOD: leaving the Church of England to themselves and to the LORD, before whom they should stand or fall; and to whom we ought to pray to reform what was amiss amongst them. Now this Reformation we have lived to see performed and brought about [*by the abolition of Bishops in England*], by the mighty power of GOD, this day in a good measure; and I hope the LORD JESUS will perfect his work of Reformation till all be according to the good pleasure of his will.

By all which, I desire the Reader to take notice of our former and present practice; notwithstanding all the injurious and scandalous taunting reports [that] are passed on us. And if these things will not satisfy: but we must still suffer reproach, and others for our sakes, because they and we thus walk—our practice being, for aught we know, *wholly* grounded on the written Word, without *any* addition or human invention known to us: taking our pattern from the Primitive Churches, as they were regulated by the blessed Apostles in their own days; who were taught and instructed by the LORD JESUS CHRIST, and had the unerring and all-knowing Spirit of GOD to bring to their remembrance the things they had heard—I say, if we must still suffer such reproach, notwithstanding our charity towards them who will not be in charity with us, GOD's will be done! *Hypocrisy unmasked &c.*, pp. 92-99, Ed. 1646, 4.

To this, we may add the testimony of the Rev. JOHN PAGET, Minister of the Scotch Presbyterian Church at Amsterdam; who, in his written controversy, during the year 1618, with the Rev. HENRY AINSWORTH, then the only Leader left of the Separation in that city, thus refers to the Leyden Church:

Seeing Master ROBINSON and his people do now, as divers of themselves confess, receive the members of the Church of England into their Congregation; and this without any renunciation of the Church of England; without any repentance "for their idolatries committed" in the Church of England: how can you hold them [*at Leyden*] to be a true Church, and communion with them lawful? *An Arrow against the Separation of the Brownists*, p. 127, Ed. 1618, 4.

One more witness, and his testimony shall suffice. JOHN BASTWICK, who was a fellow sufferer with BURTON and PRYNNE, was a strong Presbyterian. As we have seen at page 171, he matriculated at Leyden University on 4/14 January 1617. In the following passage, he sweeps away, as matters of no account, many things which are very precious to English Churchmen. Still, his testimony is very important for two things:

1. The moderate requests of the first English Reformists: which however were stiffly denied by the Bishops, notwithstanding; on the principle of Grant one thing; you must grant all! Reform coming from below, was to be resisted to the uttermost.

2. The speech, which we have here printed in a larger type, of the Rev. JOHN ROBINSON to him at Leyden.

Writing in 1646, BASTWICK tells us:

It is well known that, in the time of the Prelates' power, the removal of a very few things would have given great content unto the most scrupulous consciences.

For I myself can speak thus much, not only concerning the conscientious Professors here in England, but the most rigid Separatists beyond the seas; with many of which, I had familiar acquaintance at home and abroad: and amongst all that I ever conversed with, I never heard them, till within these twenty years [1627—1646], desire any other thing in Reformation but that the Ceremonies might be removed with their Innovations; and that Episcopacy might be regulated, and their boundless power and authority taken from them; and that the extravagances of the High Commission Court might be annihilated and made void; and that there might, through the Kingdom, be a preaching Ministry everywhere set up.

This was all that the most, that I was then acquainted with, desired in the Reformation of Church matters. Indeed, within these sixteen years [1631—1646], I met with some that desired a more full Reformation: and yet, if they might have enjoyed but that I now mentioned, they would have been very thankful to GOD and Authority, and have sat down quietly.

But yet, I say, the extremest extent of their desires reached but to the removal of all the Ceremonies and Innovations; the taking away of the Service Book [*Book of Common Prayer*]: and the putting down of the High Commission Court (which was called the Court Christian, though it was rather Pagan), and the removal of the Hierarchy, root and branch; and the setting up and establishing of a godly Presbytery through the Kingdom. This was, I say, all and the uttermost Reformation that was required by the most scrupulous men then living, that I knew. ❦

Yea, I can speak thus much, in the presence of GOD, That Master ROBINSON, of Leyden, the Pastor of the Brownist Church there, told me, and others who are yet living to witness the truth of what I now say:

"That if he might in England have enjoyed but the liberty of his Ministry there, with an immunity but from the very Ceremonies; and that they had not forced him to a *Subscription* to them, and imposed upon him the observation of them: that he had never separated from it, and left that Church."

This I can depose. So that all men may see, the very dispensing

with the Ceremonies would then have given great content to the most austere Professors: how much more may any man suppose, would they have sat down satisfied, if but the very Ceremonies then might have been removed.

Surely, if the Prelates had not been infatuated; and had they but, in those things, a little connived, and would have abated somewhat of their rigour; for aught I know, they might have never been questioned: but they might have enjoyed all their honours and greatness, and whatsoever they could have desired; and that, with the good liking of all the people. *The utter routing of the whole Army of all the Independants and Sectaries &c.*, Sig. F. 2, 1646, 4.

There is a copy of this rare book in the Bodleian Library. Press-mark, Mason A.A. 477.

CHAPTER XXIV.

Bradford's Life of William Brewster, the Ruling Elder of the Pilgrim Church.

I SHOULD say something of his life; if to say a little were not worse than to be silent: but I cannot wholly forbear, though hapily [*haply*] more may be done hereafter.

After he had attained some learning, viz. the knowledge of the Latin tongue and some insight in the Greek; and spent some small time at Cambridge *: and then, being first seasoned with the seeds of grace and virtue, he went to the Court; and served that religious and godly Gentleman, Master [William] Davison divers years, [before and] when he was Secretary of State [1586—1587]. Who found him so discreet and faithful, as he trusted him above all others that were about him; and only imployed him in all matters of greatest trust and secrecy. He esteemed him rather as a son than a servant; and, for his wisdom and godliness, in private he would converse with him, more like a friend and familiar than a master.

He attended his master when he was sent in ambassage by the Queen into the Low Countries, in the [Robert Devereux] the Earl of Leicester's time, as for

* He matriculated at Cambridge University on the 3rd December 1580, as a Pensioner of Peterhouse College.—E. A.

other weighty Affairs of State, so to receive possession of the Cautionary Towns [of Flushing, Brielle, and Rammekins]: and in token and sign thereof, the keys of Flushing being delivered to him, in Her Majesty's name, he kept them some time and committed them to this his servant; who kept them under his pillow, on which he slept, the first night. And at his return, the States [General] honoured him [W. DAVISON] with a gold chain: and his master committed it to him; and commanded him to wear it, when they arrived in England, as they rid [*rode*] through the country, till they came to the Court.

He afterwards remained with him till his troubles [*in April* 1587], that he was put from his place about the death of [MARY] the Queen of Scots; and some good time after [*till December* 1588]: doing him many faithful offices of service in the time of his troubles.

Afterwards he went and lived in the country [*i.e with his father at Scrooby*], in good esteem amongst his friends, and the Gentlemen of those parts; especially the godly and religious.

He did much good, in the country [*district, or County*] where he lived, in promoting and furthering Religion; not only by his practice and example, and provoking and incouraging of others: but by procuring good Preachers to [the Parish Churches in] the places thereabouts; and drawing on of others to assist and help forward in such a work, he himself [being] most commonly deepest in the charge, and sometimes above his ability.

And in this state, he continued many years [? 1589 —? 1606], doing the best good he could; and walking

according to the light he saw, until the LORD revealed further unto him.

And, in the end, by the tyranny of the Bishops against godly Preachers and people, in silencing the one and persecuting the other; he, and many more of those times, began to look further into things; and to see into the unlawfulness [*wrongfulness*] of their Callings, and the burthen of many anti-christian corruptions: which both he, and they, endeavoured to cast off; as they also did, as in the beginning of this Treatise is to be seen [*see pp.* 67-70].

After they were joined together into communion [*in* 1606], he was a special stay and help unto them. They ordinarily met at his house on the LORD's Day, which was a Manor of the Bishop's [*the Archbishop of YORK*]; and with great love he entertained them when they came, making provision for them, to his great charge: and continued to do so, whilst they could stay in England [1606—? *October* 1607].

And when they were to remove out of the country [*England*], he was one of the first in all adventures, and forwardest in any charge. He was the chief of those that were taken [*in, ? October, or ? November*, 1607] at Boston [in Lincolnshire], and suffered the greatest loss; and of the Seven that were kept longest in prison, and after [were] bound over to the Assizes.

After he came into Holland, he suffered much hardship; after he had spent the most of his means, having a great charge and many children: and, in regard of his former breeding and course of life, not so fit for many imployments as others were; especially such as

were toilsome and laborious. But yet he ever bore his condition with much cheerfulness and contentation.

Towards the latter part of those twelve years [1608—1620] spent in Holland; his outward condition was mended, and he lived well and plentifully. For he fell into a way, by reason he had the Latin tongue, to teach many students who had a desire to learn the English tongue, to teach them English: and by his method they quickly attained it with great facility; for he drew Rules to learn it by, after the Latin manner. And many Gentlemen, both Danes and Germans, resorted to him, as they had time from other studies: some of them being Great Men's sons.

He also had means to set up printing, by the help of some friends; and so had imployment enough: and by reason of many books which would not be allowed to be printed in England, they might have had more than they could do.

But now removing into this country [*New England*], all those things were laid aside againe, and a new course of living must be framed unto; in which he was no way unwilling to take his part, and to bear his burden with the rest. Living many times without bread or corn, many months together; having many times nothing but fish, and often wanting that also; and drunk nothing but water for many years together, yea, till within five or six years of his death [1638 *or* 1639—1644]: and yet, he lived, by the blessing of GOD, in health till very old age.

And besides that he would labour with his hands in the fields, as long as he was able; yet, when the Church had no other Minister, he taught twice every

Sabbath, and that both powerfully and profitably, to the great contentment of the hearers, and their comfortable edification: yea, many were brought to GOD by his Ministry. He did more in this behalf in a year than many, that have their hundreds [of pounds] a year, do in all their lives.

For his personal abilities, he was qualified above many. He was wise and discreet and well spoken, having a grave and deliberate utterance, of a very cheerful spirit; very sociable and pleasant amongst his friends; of a humble and modest mind; of a peaceable disposition; undervaluing himself and his own abilities, and sometime[s] overvaluing others. Inoffensive and innocent in his life and conversation; which gained him the love of those without as well as those within: yet, he would tell them plainly of their faults and evils, both publicly and privately; but in such a manner as usually was well taken from him.

He was tender hearted and compassionate of such as were in misery: but especially of such as had been of good estate and rank, and were fallen unto want or poverty; either for goodness' and religion's sake, or by the injury and oppression of others. He would say, Of all men, these deserved to be pitied most. And none did more offend and displease him, than such as would haughtily and proudly carry and lift up themselves, being risen from nothing; and having little else in them to commend them, but a few fine clothes and a little riches more than others.

In teaching, he was very moving and stirring of affections: also very plain and distinct in what he taught; by which means he became the more profitable

to the hearers. He had a singular good gift in prayer, both public and private, in ripping up the heart and conscience before GOD; in the humble confession of sin; and [in] begging the mercies of GOD in CHRIST for the pardon of the same. He always thought it were better for Ministers to pray oftener, and to divide their prayers than [to] be long and tedious in the same: except upon solemn and special occasions, as in Days of Humiliation, and the like. His reason was, That the hearts and spirits of all, especially the weak, could hardly continue, and stand bent as it were, so long towards GOD as they ought to do in that duty, without flagging and falling off.

For the Government of the Church, which was most proper to his Office, he was careful to preserve good order in the same, and to preserve purity both in the Doctrine and Communion of the same; and to suppress any error or contention that might begin to rise up amongst them. And accordingly GOD gave good success to his indeavours herein all his days; and he saw the fruit of his labours in that behalf.

But I must break off: having only thus touched a few, as it were Heads of, things. *Bradford MS.*, folios 489-493.

CHAPTER XXV.

The Pilgrim Press in Choir Alley, Leyden; and its suppression: together with the books that were produced by it, between October 1616 and June 1619.

WE suppose that we may rightly call that printing organization, which two members of the Leyden Church carried on—Thomas Brewer, the sleeping Partner, finding the money, and apparently asking no questions; and William Brewster, the working Partner, organizing and managing it—the Pilgrim Press. It produced nothing but Pilgrim books: for which cause, it was suppressed.

The Reader will do well to refer now to the method of printing books in London, described at pp. 18-20: and then he will note that, in the following correspondence, there is no hint whatever of a hand printing press. It would seem that Brewer bought type only; and that Brewster arranged with some Dutch Master Printer, to print off the sheets, from the English type sent to him: and this would be quite practical, because the Press was by no means so stringently overseen in Holland as it was in London.

The name of David Calderwood (the author of the *History of the Kirk of Scotland*, 1560—1625: and, under the name of Edwardus Didoclavius, of *The Altar of Damascus &c.*, 1621; enlarged, in the Latin edition, *Altare Damascenum &c.*, 1623) must henceforth be for ever associated with that of the Pilgrim Fathers. For it was their production anonymously, at the Pilgrim Press at Leyden, of two of his Works—*Perth Assembly*, 1619; and *De regimine Ecclesiæ Scoticanæ brevis*

Relatio, 1619, that led to the seizure of BREWER's types by the University of Leyden; to the imprisonment of BREWER by that town and University; and to the ceaseless, but unsuccessful, hunt, for more than a year, after WILLIAM BREWSTER by the University of Leyden, by Sir DUDLEY CARLETON the English Lord Ambassador in Holland, and by Sir ROBERT NAUNTON the Secretary of State in London.

The Ruling Elder of the Pilgrim Church was, for more than a year before he left Delfshaven in the *Speedwell* on the 22 July/1 August 1620, a hunted man: and it speaks volumes for the fidelity of that Church that, through all this storm, they so bravely and faithfully sheltered their beloved Officer from the fury of the English King.

Except for the few words of Governor BRADFORD at page 192, not the slightest hint of this business is given in the Pilgrim literature. In reading this correspondence, we have always to ask this question, If they did so much to THOMAS BREWER (who was a Gentleman of position, wealth, and lands), for merely supplying the money: what would they have done to WILLIAM BREWSTER, who was relatively a man of the people, for organizing and carrying on this printing work? At every step, we feel the constant dread lest the Ruling Elder should be found; and so that he should have to share the hard fate that ultimately overtook BREWER. If JAMES I. so violently bullied JAMES CATHKIN, the Edinburgh Printer, as described at pp. 239-242, upon the baseless suspicion of his having produced *Perth Assembly*: what would he have done to the actual printer of it?

Let it however be said at once, that, judged by modern ideas, BREWSTER was perfectly within his right, in running this secret printing business; and in producing ecclesiastical treatises, which now a days would be considered as perfectly harmless: but, judged by the ideas of his own Age, he was nothing else than a theological dynamitard.

At this time, JAMES I. was resolutely bent upon destroying

the Kirk of Scotland, and in forcing Episcopacy upon that unwilling nation. This wicked work was carried on by his son CHARLES I., and was the proximate cause of the great Civil War.

We have already seen how completely the King and the Bishops controlled the Press in Britain. The Pilgrims were therefore materially damaging their enemies, by helping the Scotch Kirk, through the printing, at the Pilgrim Press, of arguments against Episcopacy, in DAVID CALDERWOOD'S two books. And it was these two books more especially, that were so bitterly resented by the English King.

We now give first, the despatches preserved in the Public Record Office, in London; together with the most valuable information obtained at Leyden, by H. C. M. [the Hon. HENRY C. MURPHY, of Brooklyn, N.Y.]: and then a Bibliography of the books—most of them being without either the name of the Printer, or that of the Place of Printing—that may reasonably be assigned to the Pilgrim Press.

It is greatly to be regretted that the various enclosures in Sir DUDLEY CARLETON'S despatches, are not now to be found in the Public Record Office.

Mr MURPHY, in the *Historical Magazine*, Vol. IV., p. 4, Boston and New York, 1860, 4, writes:

"The name of WILLIAM BREWSTER occurs several times besides on the occasions of the Marriages.

"It is connected with the earliest entry to be found relating to the Pilgrims in these Records, after the application for denization; and we believe, with the earliest date yet produced of their actual residence in Leyden.

"It is a Minute of the death of one of his children, on the 20th of June 1609. He then resided, it appears, in a narrow street or alley, called *Steucksteeg*.

"He subsequently removed to the *Choorsteeg*, *Vicus*

Choralis; which is an alley extending from the Broadway, to the Choir of St Peter's Church.

"These streets are obscure; but eligibly situated."

"THOMAS BREWER is styled in the Records, *Edelman*, an *Honourable*. He owned a house near ROBINSON'S, in the *Kloksteeg* [*Bell Alley*]; and it was in the garret of that house, that the printing materials were found and seized.

"Two years after the death of ROBINSON, he sold out his property and effects in Leyden; and returned to England."*

SIR DUDLEY CARLETON TO SIR ROBERT NAUNTON.
THE HAGUE; SATURDAY, 17/27 JULY 1619.

I have seen [*i.e. at the Hague*], within these two days, a certain Scottish book, called *Perth Assembly*, written with much scorn and reproach of the proceedings in that Kingdom concerning the Affairs of the Church. It is without name, either of Author or Printer: but I am informed it is printed by a certain English Brownist of Leyden; as are most of the Puritan books sent over, of late days, into England.

Which being directly against an express *Placaat* [now spelt *Plakkaat* = *Edict*] of the States General, which was published in December last [1618]: I intend, when I have more particular knowledge of the Printer, to make complaint thereof; conceiving that His Majesty will not dislike I should so do.

Thus I humbly take my leave. From the Hague, this 17th of July 1619.

S. P. *Holland.* Bundle 132.

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* The reason of this will be seen at pp. 225-247.—E. A.

SIR DUDLEY CARLETON TO SIR ROBERT NAUNTON.
THE HAGUE; THURSDAY, 22 JULY/1 AUGUST 1619.

Right Honourable. By letters of 14th and 17th of of this present [month] by [GEORGE] MARTEN the Post, of which I sent the duplicates by [ROBERT SYDNEY] my Lord LISLE, the 18th; I advertised your Honour of all we had here worth His Majesty's knowledge.

And withal, I sent your Honour a book, intituled *Perth Assembly*: of which, finding many copies dispersed at Leyden, and from thence some sent into England, I had reason to suspect it was printed in that town; but, upon more particular enquiry, [I] do rest somewhat doubtful.

Yet, in search after that book, I believe I have discovered the Printer of another [edition of] *De regimine Ecclesiæ Scoticanæ*; which His Majesty was informed to be done in Middelburg: and that is, one WILLIAM BREWSTER, a Brownist, who hath been, for some years, an inhabitant and printer at Leyden; but is now, within these three weeks [2*nd*—22*nd July* 1619], removed from thence, and gone back to dwell in London. Where he may be found out, and examined, not only of this book, *De regimine Ecclesiæ Scoticanæ*: but likewise of *Perth Assembly*; of which, if he was not the Printer himself, he assuredly knows both the Printer and the Author.

For, as I am informed, he hath had, whilst he remained here, his hand in all such books as have been sent over into England and Scotland. As particularly, a book in folio, intituled [THOMAS CARTWRIGHT,] *A Confutation of the Rhemists' Translation, Glosses, and Annotations on the New Testament; anno* 1618, was printed by him.

So was another, in decimo-sexto, *De vera et genuina* JESU CHRISTI *Domini et Salvatoris nostri Religione*; of which I send your Honour herewith the Title Page. And if you will compare that which is underlined therein, with the other [*the second edition of*] *De regimine Ecclesiæ Scoticanæ*, of which I send your Honour the Title Page likewise; you will find it is the same character [*type*]. And the one being confessed, as that *De vera et genuina* JESU CHRISTI *&c., Religione*, BREWSTER doth openly avow; the other cannot well be denied.

This I thought fit, for His Majesty's service, to advertise your Honour. . . .

From the Hague, this 22nd of July 1619.

S. P. *Holland.* Bundle 132.

SIR ROBERT NAUNTON TO SIR DUDLEY CARLETON. WHITEHALL; TUESDAY, 3/13 AUGUST 1619.

I am told WILLIAM BREWSTER is come again for Leyden; where I doubt not but your Lordship will lay [wait] for him, if he come thither: as I will likewise do here; where I have already committed some of his complices, and am commanded to make search for the rest. . . .

Whitehall, 3rd of August 1619.

S. P. *Holland.* Bundle 132.

SIR DUDLEY CARLETON TO SIR ROBERT NAUNTON.
THE HAGUE; FRIDAY, 20/30 AUGUST 1619.

I have made good enquiry after WILLIAM BREWSTER at Leyden, and am well assured that he is not returned thither; neither is [it] likely he will: having removed from thence both his family and goods. . . .

From the Hague, this 20th of August 1619.

S. P. *Holland.* Bundle 132.

SIR ROBERT NAUNTON TO SIR DUDLEY CARLETON.
WHITEHALL; MONDAY, 23 AUGUST /2 SEPTEMBER 1619.

My good Lord. His Majesty doth so much resent those Puritan pamphlets which are there [*at Leyden*] imprinted underhand [*secretly*] by the practices of BREWSTER and his complices in those parts, and in Scotland, and here—divers of whom [*his accomplices*], as we are informed, have made, very lately, an escape from hence; and are slipped over hither [*to Leyden*] with him, the said BREWSTER—[that he] hath commanded me again, over and beside what I wrote unto you in my former [of the 3/13 August], to require your Lordship, in his name, to deal roundly [*energetically*] with the States [General], as in his name, for the apprehension of him, the said BREWSTER; as they tender His Majesty's friendship.

Whitehall, 23° Augusti 1619.

S. P. *Holland.* Bundle 132.

SIR DUDLEY CARLETON TO SIR ROBERT NAUNTON.
THE HAGUE; SATURDAY, 28 AUGUST /7 SEPTEMBER 1619.

Touching BREWSTER, I am now informed that he is on this side the seas; and that he was seen yesterday [27 *August* /6 *September*] at Leyden: but, as yet, is not there settled.

To complain of him in general terms, were to small effect: but when I can certainly learn where he is permanent[ly]; I will then move the States [General] to do that which belongs to them, for His Majesty satisfaction.

From the Hague, the 28th of August 1619.

S. P. *Holland.* Bundle 132.

SIR DUDLEY CARLETON TO SIR ROBERT NAUNTON.
THE HAGUE; FRIDAY, 3/13 SEPTEMBER 1619.

I have used all diligence to enquire after BREWSTER; and finds he keeps most at Amsterdam: but, being *incerti laris*, he is not yet to be lighted upon.

I understand he prepares to settle himself at a village called Leerdorp [*now spelt* Leiderdorp], not far from Leyden; thinking there to be able to print prohibited books without discovery: but I shall lay wait for him, both there and in other places, so, as I doubt but either he must leave this country; or I shall, sooner or later, find him out.

Thus I humbly take leave. From the Hague, this 3rd of September 1619.

S. P. *Holland.* Bundle 133.

THE SCHEPENS [*ALDERMEN*] AND COUNCIL OF LEYDEN TO JACOB VON BROUCKHOVEN, DEPUTY OF THAT CITY.

LEYDEN; THURSDAY, 9/19 SEPTEMBER 1619.

To Master JACOB VON BROUCKHOVEN, Deputy Councillor of their High Mightinesses.

We have to-day summoned into our presence THOMAS BREWER, an Englishman; and he being heard, we learn that his business heretofore has been printing, or having printing done: but in consequence of the publication of the Placaat [*Edict*] in relation to the Printing of Books, [?in December 1618],* he had stopped the Printing Office; which was, at that time, mostly his own, and that his partner was a certain WILLIAM BREWSTER, who was also in town at present, but sick.

We have therefore resolved, after having communicated with the Rektor Magnificus [REINERUS BONTIUS], to deliver the said THOMAS BREWER, who is a member of the University, in the place where it is the custom to bring the members thereof: and in regard to WILLIAM BREWSTER, to bring him, inasmuch as he is sick, into the Debtors' Chamber, provisionally; where he went voluntarily.

Of which things we have thought proper to inform you, and to await further orders in the matter.

Quoted by H. C. M. in *Historical Magazine*, Vol. IV., p. 5, Boston and New York, 1860, 4.

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* Master THOMAS BREWER was evidently a strictly honourable, and perfectly truthful, English Gentleman. What then does he mean here, as to the four books printed in 1619, that are described on pp. 238, 242, 245?

SIR DUDLEY CARLETON TO SIR ROBERT NAUNTON.
THE HAGUE; FRIDAY, 10/20 SEPTEMBER 1619.

I have at length found out BREWSTER at Leyden, whom the Magistrates of that town, at my instance, apprehended yesternight [*last night*, that is 9/19 September], though he was sick in bed; as likewise one BREWER, of his profession, a Brownist, who was an assistant to him in his printing.

By [Monsieur BROUCKHOVEN,] the Deputy of that town, who is continually resident here at the Hague, and is this day gone thither [*to Leyden*], I have required to have their books and their printing letters [*type*] seized; as likewise to have them strictly examined of all the books, as well Latin as English, they have printed, for the space of eighteen months or two years past. [*The printing however actually began about October* 1616.] Of which, I shall have answer this night, or to-morrow.

From the Hague, this 10th of September 1619.

S. P. *Holland.* Bundle 133.

WARRANT OF THE UNIVERSITY OF LEYDEN TO SEIZE BREWER'S TYPES.
LEYDEN; SATURDAY, 11/21 SEPTEMBER 1619.

Upon the application of LOTH HUYGHENSZOON GAEL, Bailiff of the University, to have an Assessor and Schepenmaster [*Chief Justice, or Alderman*] to assist him in seizing the types of THOMAS BREWER, a member of the said University, now in prison; and in searching his library for any Works printed, or caused to be

printed, by him, within a year and a half or thereabouts; and in seizing the same; and in examining him as to what books he has printed, or caused to be printed, within a year and a half either in English or in other languages: the Rektor and Judges of the said University have appointed, and by these presents do, Doctor JOHANNES POLYANDER, Assessor; and Doctor GUILIELMUS BONTIUS, Schepenmaster, provisionally only, for the seizure of the type; and searching of the Library aforesaid; and seizing the books.

In pursuance whereof, the types found in the garret were seized; the garret door nailed in two places, and the seal of the said Officer, impressed in green wax over paper, is placed upon the lock and nails; a Catalogue is made of the books, and the chamber where the same were found is sealed with the aforesaid seal upon the lock and nails.

Done, the 21st of September 1619, in my presence.
(signed) J. VERVEY.

Criminal and Civil Record, Letter A.; quoted by H. C. M. in *Historical Magazine*, Vol. IV., pp. 5, 6, Boston and New York, 1860, 4.

SIR DUDLEY CARLETON TO SIR ROBERT NAUNTON.
THE HAGUE; SUNDAY, 12/22 SEPTEMBER 1619.

In my last, I advertised your Honour, that BREWSTER was taken at Leyden: which proved an error, in that the Scout [*in modern Dutch*, Schout—*Bailiff*], who was employed by the Magistrates for his apprehension being a dull, drunken fellow, took one man for another.

But [THOMAS] BREWER (who set him on work

and, being a man of means, bare the charge of his printing) is fast in the University [of Leyden]'s Prison: and his printing letters [*type*] (which were found in his house, in a garret where he had hid them), and his books and papers, are all seized and sealed up.

I expect, to-morrow, to receive his voluntary Confession of such books as he hath caused to be printed by BREWSTER, for this year and a half or two years past [*or rather, since about October* 1616]: and then I intend to send one expressly to visit his books and papers; and to examine him particularly touching *Perth Assembly*, the discourse *De regimine Ecclesiæ Scoticanæ*, and other Puritan pamphlets which I have newly recovered. . . .

From the Hague, this 12th/22nd of September 1619.

S. P. *Holland.* Bundle 133.

THE SCHEPENS AND COUNCIL OF LEYDEN TO JACOB VON BROUCKHOVEN.

LEYDEN; MONDAY 13/23 SEPTEMBER 1619.

We have, this day, in consequence of your letter, summoned the Officer; and strongly enjoined upon him, to do his best to arrest WILLIAM BREWSTER; in whose person he was mistaken: which he has promised to do. But, at the same time, said, That the said WILLIAM BREWSTER had already left.

A meeting was held to-day, at the Rektor's, in regard to the case of WILLIAM BREWER.

Quoted by H. C. M. in *Historical Magazine*, Vol IV., p. 5, Boston and New York, 1860, 4.

WARRANT OF THE UNIVERSITY OF LEYDEN TO EXAMINE THOMAS BREWER; AND TO REMOVE HIS TYPE TO THE UNIVERSITY ROOMS.
LEYDEN; MONDAY, 13/23 SEPTEMBER 1619.

On this 23rd September 1619, the Honourable Rektor and Judges of the University in the City of Leyden, have, upon the application of LOTH HUYGHENSZOON GAEL, Bailiff of the University, appointed, and by these presents do appoint, Doctor CORNELIUS SWANENBURG, Assessor; and Doctor GUILIELMUS BONTIUS, Schepenmaster; to examine THOMAS BREWER, in custody of the said Bailiff, as to what books he has, within a year and a half past [*i.e. since* 13/23 *March* 1618], printed, or caused to be printed in Latin, English, or other languages.

And the said Assessor and JAN BOUT JACOBSZOON, Schepenmaster, shall cause the type of the said BREWER, which have been seized, to be brought, for better keeping, from his house, to the University Rooms.

Which is accordingly done, the day and year aforesaid, in my presence.

(signed) JACOB V. VERVEY.

Quoted by H. C. M. in *Historical Magazine*, Vol. IV., p. 6, Boston and New York, 1860, 4.

SIR ROBERT NAUNTON TO SIR DUDLEY CARLETON.
WHITEHALL; SATURDAY, 18/28 SEPTEMBER 1619.

I am sorry that BREWSTER's person hath so escaped you: but I hope BREWER will help you to find him out.

Whitehall, 18° Septembris 1619.

S. P. *Holland.* Bundle 133.

SIR DUDLEY CARLETON TO SIR ROBERT NAUNTON.
THE HAGUE; SATURDAY, 18/28 SEPTEMBER 1619.

Since my last of the 12th of this present [month], whereby I advertised your Honour of BREWER's being laid fast in the University's Prison at Leyden; I have sent an Advocate of this town [*The Hague*], who understands our language, with a servant of mine, expressly to visit his books and papers: and to present certain Interrogatories * to those who examine him whereof I send your Honour the translation; with his Answers,* which are so indirect that they give no man satisfaction that sees them.

And therefore I have now used [MAURICE] the Prince of ORANGE's authority; who hath spoken himself to [*REINERUS BONTIUS*] the Rector of the University, not to give the prisoner any liberty until His Majesty's pleasure be known concerning him: which the Rector doth promise shall be fullfilled; notwithstanding that the whole Company of Brownists [*the Leyden Church*] doth offer caution [*security*] for BREWER. And he being a University man, the scholars [*students*] are likewise stirred up by the Brownists to plead Privilege in that kind, when caution [*security*] is offered.

Wherefore I am requested by the Rector, and by the Deputy of the town of Leyden, Monsieur BROUCKHOVEN, residing here [*at the Hague*] in the Council of [the Province of] Holland, whose serious care in this business I cannot but commend to His Majesty, to know His Majesty's pleasure with the soonest: whereby to prevent some disorder, which may happen upon this occasion.

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* These Interrogatories and Answers are not now with the State Papers; and are apparently lost.—E. A.

Meantime I intend to have him further examined, which Monsieur BROUCKHOVEN will give order for on Monday next [20/30 September], when he goeth to Leyden for two or three days; and if there be any things more particular in his Confession, I will send the same speedily to your Honour; as with these which go herewith, I thought it my duty to despatch this bearer expressly.

Amongst the books touching which I have caused him to be examined, I have inserted some, as that *AMESII in GREVINCHOVIUM* [*see page* 237], which as he cannot deny [*because WILLIAM BREWSTER's name is in the imprint*] so he may, and doth, confess it without difficulty: but by that character [*type*], he is condemned of the rest. And certain experienced printers, which have viewed the letters [*type*], affirm that all and every one of the books with which he is charged, particularly those *De regimine Ecclesiæ Scoticanæ* and *Perth Assembly*, were printed by [*with*] them.

And it appears that this BREWER, and BREWSTER whom this man set on work, having kept no open shop, nor printed [any *altered into*] many books fit for public sale in these Provinces, their practice was to print prohibited books, to be vented underhand [*sold secretly*] in His Majesty's kingdoms.

And if, hereupon, His Majesty will be pleased that I move the States General to take some strict order therein, through all their Provinces; either by further explanation of their late *Placaat* [*Edict*] concerning [the] Printing of Books and Libels, or [in] some other way: as I believe they will do it very willingly, so will it serve for [the] preventing of the like inconvenience hereafter.

What this BREWER is, and what fantastical courses

he hath run heretofore, your Honour will see by an Information * which hath been given me concerning him.

Thus I humbly take leave. From the Hague, the 18th of September 1619.

Postscript. Upon some just ground of suspicion that Master AMES hath his hand in many of these books, which your Honour will find specified in these Interrogatories; I have desired the Curators of the University of Leyden not to admit him to a place of public Professor, to which he doth pretend [*aspire*] and hath many strong recommendations, until he hath given His Majesty full satisfaction: which they do very willingly yield unto; and I am very well assured, his preferment will here stay unless His Majesty give way unto it.

Thus I rest, your Honour's &c.,

DUDLEY CARLETON.

S. P. *Holland.* Bundle 133.

MATTHEW SLADE TO SIR DUDLEY CARLETON.
AMSTERDAM; SATURDAY, 18/28 SEPTEMBER 1619.

Right Honourable. My duty remembered unto your good Lordship.

May it please the same to understand that I have made the best enquiry that I could, concerning WILLIAM BREWSTER, among them that know him well. But cannot hear otherwise than that he is yet dwelling and resident at Leyden.

* This Information is not now with the State Papers, and is probably lost.—E. A.

Neither is it likely that he will remove his dwelling hither: there being another English printer named WILLIAM THORP [*or rather* GILES THORPE], also a Brownist, settled here; and for that there is also variance about religion, between the Separatists [*the Rev. HENRY AINSWORTH's Church*] at Amsterdam and them of Leyden.

If he lurk here, for fear of apprehension; it will be hard to find him. But I will speak with our Burgomaster about that business, at his return; who is not yet, in two or three days, expected.

S. P. *Holland.* Bundle 133.

SIR DUDLEY CARLETON TO SIR ROBERT NAUNTON.
THE HAGUE;
WEDNESDAY, 22 SEPTEMBER /2 OCTOBER 1619.

Concerning BREWER, now prisoner at Leyden, who was the chief subject of my last despatch; I have, as yet, no more to advertise: but I shall expect, with much devotion, His Majesty's pleasure about him. . . .

From the Hague, this 22nd of September 1619.

S. P. *Holland.* Bundle 133.

SIR ROBERT NAUNTON TO SIR DUDLEY CARLETON.
HAMPTON COURT;
TUESDAY, 28 SEPTEMBER /8 OCTOBER 1619.

Sir. For answer to your last of the 18th of September, it is His Majesty's pleasure that you present his princely thanks to that noble Prince; also to Monsieur BROUCKHOVEN, and [REINERUS BONTIUS] the

Rector [of the University of Leyden]: for their serious care, and respect shewed, in the apprehension and examination of BREWER. From whom, His Majesty hopes well that you will draw more particularities in his after Confessions than yet he sees in those you have sent us over; which meanwhile he takes in good part as a fair beginning and introduction to the rest.

When you shall have discovered all you can there, His Majesty would have you move the States [General] earnestly, in his name, that he may be remanded [*sent over*] hither. Which he promiseth himself, that they will not take it for an unreasonable request, since he is his own native subject: they having formerly remanded some of their own [subjects] hither, upon His Majesty's like motion.

But if any fond [*foolish*] scruple or difficulty should be made herein, in respect of the scholars [*students*] their pleading their Privilege in that tumultuous town, especially in these troubled times; or otherwise: His Majesty will have you, rather than you should fail in his design, to descend [*stoop*] thus much further, as to promise them, That if they shall so require, he will return him [*T. BREWER*] back again, after he shall have informed himself from him, of divers things merely concerning his own special service: His Majesty having no intention to touch him, either in body or goods; or to punish him further than with a free Confession of his own misdemeanours, and those of his complices.

And for the time to come, you are required to move the States [General], to take some strict order, through all their Provinces, for the preventing of the like abuses and licentiousness in publishing printing and venting underhand [*secretly*] such scandalous and libellous pamphlets.

For AMES his preferment, His Majesty doth utterly distaste it; as if a new VORSTIUS were reviving in him: and would, in no sort, have any way given unto it.

Hampton Court, this 28th of September 1619.

S. P. *Holland.* Bundle 133.

THE REFUSAL OF THE UNIVERSITY OF LEYDEN TO SURRENDER THOMAS BREWER.
LEYDEN; MONDAY, 11/21 OCTOBER 1619.

At an extraordinary Meeting of the Curators and Burgomasters, held on the 21st October 1619.

It being represented to the Curators and Burgomasters, that the Ambassador of His Royal Majesty, the King of Great Britain requested that THOMAS BREWER, English Gentleman, who is now confined in the Prison of the University, upon the complaint of the said Ambassador, by order of the Rektor and Assessors, might be taken from here to His Royal Majesty in England, it is resolved:

That the said BREWER shall be still offered, as before, to the said Ambassador,

> for further examination in the presence of any one whom His Excellency may be pleased to appoint, or he shall go before His Excellency himself, or otherwise, a proper Obligation shall be demanded from His Excellency, to the effect that the said BREWER shall be restored here again within two months.

Which he not consenting to; the matter must be referred to the High and Mighty Lords the States of [the Provinces of] Holland and West Friesland.

Register of the University, quoted by H. C. M. in *Historical Magazine*, Vol. IV., p. 6, Boston and New York, 1860, 4.

It will be noticed that Sir DUDLEY CARLETON never informed King JAMES of the above refusal; of which he must have known.

SIR DUDLEY CARLETON TO SIR ROBERT NAUNTON.
THE HAGUE; WEDNESDAY, 13/23 OCTOBER 1619.

In [A.] the further Examination of BREWER, [B.] the remanding [*sending*] him into England, and [C.] the moving [of] the States [General] to take some strict order against the like abuse [*i.e. of secret printing*] as that of which he is accused; touching which three points, I understand His Majesty's pleasure by your Honour's letters of the 28th of the last [month]:

[A.] In the first, I find it lost labour, he persisting in his former Answers: only he hath written me a long impertinent letter,* which I send your Honour herewith.

[B.] In the second, because I know it will be a matter of much difficulty to effect his Majesty's desire; in regard of the scrupulosity of the town and University of Leyden in point of Privilege: both [of] which are interessed [*interested*] herein, as a *mixed* cause; he being apprehended by the *Public* Escoutete [=Schout=*Bailif*], and kept in the *University* Prison.

I have therefore thought best to begin the matter *there*, by preparing the Curators and the Rector of the University as likewise the Magistrates [of the town],

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* This letter is not now with the State Papers, and is apparently lost. —E. A.

by means of their Deputy, Monsieur BROUCKHOVEN: having spoken likewise with [MAURICE] the Prince of ORANGE, to the same effect.

The Curators are now at this present at Leyden, upon the admission of some of their new Professors; and have promised me their endeavours to give His Majesty satisfaction. Wherein I shall know, within these two days, what to trust to.

And then I may, upon better grounds, move the States [General] both touching that point in particular, and likewise concerning the last in general [C.], of preventing the like abuse, not only in that town [*Leyden*] but in all the Provinces. Wherein I will neither fail of my duty in doing, nor diligence in advertising.

Meanwhile I humbly take my leave. From the Hague, this 13th of October 1619.

S. P. *Holland.* Bundle 133.

SIR DUDLEY CARLETON TO SIR ROBERT NAUNTON.
THE HAGUE; FRIDAY, 22 OCTOBER/1 NOVEMBER 1619.

Right Honourable. The business of BREWER, now prisoner at Leyden, whom His Majesty demands to be remanded [*sent over*] into England, requires a letter apart.

Concerning which, I have been spoken with twice since my last to your Honour, by Sir THOMAS DUTTON, of the 13th of this present [month].

First, by two of the Curators of the University.

And after, by one of the Curators, [REINERUS BONTIUS] the Rector, his two Assessors; and a Deputy from the town [of Leyden]: all which came unto me in

one company; and, after large profession of due respect to His Majesty and desire to give His Majesty all possible satisfaction, they alledged unto me these difficulties:

First. The Privilege of the University: which any man that is matriculated, as this BREWER is, may plead, upon any accusation, for his trial upon the place; without having his cause or person removed elsewhere, contrary to his own mind.

Secondly. The nature of their University: consisting chiefly of strangers [*foreigners*]; to whom if they should not carefully preserve their privileges in a matter of this consequence, they would all fly [from] their University.

Thirdly. The condition of the time: there being now newly a general Reformation made; and if they should neglect the preservation of their privileges, they should expose themselves unto the scandal of such as are deported [*banished*].

Lastly. The example of one CLUVERUS [? *PHILIP CLUVIER or CLUVERIUS*], a German; who, having printed a book against the Emperor RODOLPH, and thereupon being required of the States [General], to be sent to Prague, there to be punished; the University made an absolute refusal, as that which could not be granted without breach of their privileges.

To all which points I answered:

First, concerning their Privileges in general. It was an argument that I sought to maintain, not to infringe, them; in that I addressed myself first to them, who were the Chief of the University: before I would move the States [General] to use authority this business.

And for BREWER in particular, though he were a matriculate man, his printing house where he, for the space of these three years [*This fixes the beginning of the*

secret printing in October 1616], hath printed prohibited books and pamphlets—not for the use of the University of Leyden, or [of] these Provinces; but for His Majesty's disservice, and the trouble of his Kingdoms—was in the *town*.

And, in the like case, I asked them, If some busy, or factious, Arminian, a subject of these Provinces, should matriculate himself in one of the Universities of Oxford or Cambridge; and there print, and send over hither, books of that argument: of which their Ambassador should complain, and desire to have him remanded [*sent over*]; how they would take it, if they should be answered by a Plea of Privilege?

Touching the Nature of the University, which consists of strangers; I said, They must have, in that regard, the greater consideration of giving contentment to stranger [*foreign*] Princes: otherwise they would, and might very well, forbid their subjects from frequenting their University.

Concerning the time of their present Reformation; I desired them to remember to whom they might chiefly ascribe this Reformation: which they have often acknowledged unto me, to proceed from His Majesty; and then to consider, Whether it was fit to allege this Reformation against His Majesty's satisfaction.

As for CLUVERUS; I told them the case was different, in that he was required to receive both trial and punishment at Prague: but His Majesty demands BREWER without intention to touch him, either in body or goods; or to punish him further than with a free Confession of his own misdemeanours, and those of his complices; with purpose to return him back again (after he shall have informed himself from him, of such things which concern his service), if they shall so

require it. And for conclusion, I wished them to put [a] difference between the satisfaction of that Emperor, with whom they had little or no correspondence, and the King my Master; whom this State in general, and that University in particular, could not but acknowledge their best friend.

I found them well apprehensive of these reasons, and to continue, in as much as depended on them, for so they professed, in their desire of giving His Majesty satisfaction. But because their University acknowledgeth for Founders, the States [of the Province] of Holland; whose assembly is near at hand, within a fortnight, or three weeks at the furthest, they desired me to forbear pressing this matter any further till that time.

Wherein I made no difficulty: knowing it would be fruitless. Only I told them, That if they had readily consented, I made no doubt but that BREWER might be in England, and returned again, before the meeting of the States of Holland.

The Curators asked me, when they alone were with me, Whether I would give them an act [*deed*] in writing, in manner of a Safe Conduct, for BREWER's return; in case they should send him into England?

Wherein, having no express order [*i.e. from the King*]; I prayed them to weigh, Whether that were any way needful; in regard, by what had passed in former occasions, they might be well assured, that His Majesty's word, given by any of his Ministers, will never be infringed.

I understand they have privately appointed [JOHN]

POLYANDER and [ANTHONY] WALÆUS to deal with BREWER, of his own accord to desire to go into England whereby to satisfy His Majesty, and preserve their privileges: which I do not mislike. For if he yield thereunto, His Majesty hath what he requires. If he make difficulty, I have the more just subject to press his remanding; which, at the time of the assembly of the States of [the Province of] Holland, I will not fail to do. And before [that], in regard the University belongs only to this Province, it will be to no purpose to move anything to the States General.

Of this, I beseech your Honour to advertise His Majesty. So I humbly take leave. From the Hague, this 22nd of October 1619.

S. P. *Holland.* Bundle 133.

SIR ROBERT NAUNTON TO SIR DUDLEY CARLETON.
WHITEHALL; SATURDAY, 23 OCTOBER /2 NOVEMBER 1619.

His Majesty hath charged me, once more, to require you, as from himself, that you press, with all earnestness, the matter of BREWER, in all the three points I recommended to you, from Hampton Court, 28° Septembris.

Whitehall, 23° Octobris 1619.

S. P. *Holland.* Bundle 133.

SIR DUDLEY CARLETON TO SIR ROBERT NAUNTON.
THE HAGUE; MONDAY, 25 OCTOBER /4 NOVEMBER 1619.

What is done about BREWER at Leyden; your

Honour will see by a letter * I have, even now, received from POLYANDER.

Thus I humbly take my leave. From the Hague, this 25th of October 1619.

S. P. *Holland.* Bundle 133.

SIR DUDLEY CARLETON TO SIR ROBERT NAUNTON.
THE HAGUE; WEDNESDAY, 3/13 NOVEMBER 1619.

Right Honourable. One of the Curators, and [REINERUS BONTIUS] the Rector of the University of Leyden; with JOHN POLYANDER and [DANIEL] HEINSIUS, came to me on Monday last, being the 1st of this present [month], expressly from Leyden, to let me know their resolution to send BREWER into England: which, for the preservation of the privileges of their University, they made appear unto me, by a Writing under BREWER's hand, to proceed of his own desire, as a dutiful subject to His Majesty; and willing to give His Majesty all satisfaction.

But, first, he requires of them, in the said Writing, to to be assured

[1] It is His Majesty's own pleasure to have him sent.

[2] Next, That he may go as a free man under caution [*security*] of his lands and goods; not as a prisoner.

[3] Then, That he may not be punished during his abode in England, either in body or goods.

[4] And, That he may be suffered to return hither, in a competent time.

[5] And lastly, That his journey be without his own charge.

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* This Letter is not now with the State Papers. Sir DUDLEY states, at p. 231, that he had not taken a copy of it.—E. A.

These things were requested of me by the Curator, the Rector, and the rest, in his behalf. Wherein I made them this verbal promise, without being further moved by any of them, as I was formerly, to give them my act [*deed*] in writing:

[1] That, for the first, It was His Majesty's express will and pleasure: which I might the better assure them, having the same, now a second time, reiterated unto me by your Honour's letter of the 23rd of October; which, at that instant, I received.

[2] Next, That if they would take caution [*security*] of him of his lands and goods, for his rendering himself to His Majesty in England; I left it* to their discretions. But to send him as a free man could not well be, as long as he remained *in reatu* [*in the state of a person arraigned*].

[3] Then, That for his body and goods during his abode in England, I undertook he should not be touched: being so warranted by your Honour's former letter of the 21st of September.

[4] And for his return, That it should be within the space of three months at the furthest; and sooner, if he dealt ingenuously and freely in his Confessions.

[5] Touching the charge of his journey, I made no difficulty to free both him and them thereof: not doubting but His Majesty will be pleased to allow it.

So as there remaining this only point of difference between us, Whether he should go as a prisoner, or as a free man? In the end we concluded of [*agreed to*] a middle way betwixt both, That he should go *sub libera custodia*.

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* The Bond, dated 2/12 November 1619, which BREWER gave the University of Leyden, to return to that city, is printed by H. C. M. in *Historical Magazine*, Vol. IV., p. 6, Boston and New York, 1860, 4.—E. A.

Being attended from Leyden to Rotterdam, by one of the Beadles, with another Officer, of the University; and [to] be there delivered to some such person as I should appoint for his safe convoy into England: where I have undertaken for him, he shall not be cast into any common prison, nor be ill used. Though for his liberty, I let them know, he must not expect it but according as he shall merit it by the satisfaction he shall give His Majesty.

Wherein if he fail of what he now seems willing to perform, the fear of being returned back thither again to the place [*the Prison of the University of Leyden*] where he hath lain ever since his first apprehension; and where he may lie long enough, unless he be delivered by His Majesty's grace and favour, will be a sufficient torture.

But, on the other side, if he carry himself well and dutifully, I beseech your Honour to be a means to His Majesty, that he may be well treated and sent back with contentment: the rather, because he hath taken his resolution of presenting himself unto His Majesty, against the minds of some stiff-necked men [*? of the Pilgrim Church*] in Leyden; who endeavoured to dissuade him. And it will give all inferior persons encouragement by his example, according to the like occasions, willingly to submit themselves: he being a Gentleman of a good house, both of land and living; which none of his profession [*Brownists*] in these parts are — though through the reveries [*dreams*] of his religion (he being, as I advertised your Honour, a professed Brownist), he hath mortgaged and consumed a great part of his estate.

This noble Gentleman, Sir WILLIAM ZOUCHE, being

to go into England upon his own affairs, hath, upon my intreaty, willingly undertaken the charge of conducting BREWER to your Honour. For which purpose, he hath stayed his journey until this time, when I am promised BREWER shall meet him at Rotterdam: and he being a Gentleman of His Majesty's Privy Chamber as well as a servant to this State [of Holland]; His Majesty may be pleased to take notice of his readiness to do His Majesty service.

Thus I humbly take leave. From the Hague, the 3rd of November 1619.

[*P.S.*] At the assembly of the States of [the Province of] Holland, which is to begin the 8/18 of this present [month]; I will not fail to move the States to take some strict public order against these abuses of private printing, for His Majesty's service: as well [*as much*] as they have, not long since, carefully done for their own.

This despatch is endorsed

By Sir WILLIAM ZOUCHE, who carries BREWER the Printer into England, to His Majesty.

S. P. *Holland.* Bundle 134.

SIR DUDLEY CARLETON TO SIR ROBERT NAUNTON.
THE HAGUE; WEDNESDAY, 10/20 NOVEMBER 1619.

I will hope that BREWER, whom Sir WILLIAM ZOUCHE took charge to conduct to your Honour, the 3rd [day] of this present [month], will be with you, about this time; if the winds have not hindered their passage.

For that night, I understand he was delivered unto

Sir WILLIAM ZOUCHE, by the Beadle of the University of Leyden, at Rotterdam; and the next day, they set forward together by way of Zealand.

The Hague, the 10th of November 1619.

S. P. *Holland.* Wrongly placed in Bundle 133, under 10 October 1619.

SIR WILLIAM ZOUCHE TO SIR DUDLEY CARLETON.
ROTTERDAM; SATURDAY, 13/23 NOVEMBER 1619.

Right Honourable. I did purpose to have advertised your Lordship of our proceedings.

I was, last night, almost out of hope of having my expected company: but, about ten of the clock, Master BREWER arrived, conveyed hither by the Beadle of the University [of Leyden], Master [JOHN] ROBINSON and Master KEBEL [*JOHN KEBLE*] accompanied by two other of his friends; their names I think are not worth the asking.* * Yet I will enquire of them by the way. [D.C.]

We go forward about two or three of the clock; and if we find not a boat of Terveer [*the present* Veere *on the island of Walcheren*] ready to go away, we intend to lie at Dort this night.

The Gentleman seems very ready and willing to go with me; and hath good hope of his despatch and happy issue, if he be not referred to the judgement of the Bishops; concerning which, he says, he made caution [*a proviso*] before his departure: and if you have not written so much already, he desires you will do so much, when you write next to Master Secretary [Sir ROBERT NAUNTON.]

He excuses his long stay [at Leyden], by reason of the sudden warning to provide him[self for the journey].

He demanded of me, If I had order to defray him?

I have told him, "Yes."

He says, He is contented: but says, It was not his desire; nor mentioned by him.

I assure your Lordship, I will make no delay; but take the speediest opportunities to be rid of this employment.

My best service humbly remembered to your Honour and my honourable Lady.

I take my leave and rest.

Ready to observe and serve you,
W. ZOUCHE.

Rotterdam,
the 13th of November 1619.

S. P. *Holland.* Bundle 134.

SIR ROBERT NAUNTON TO SIR DUDLEY CARLETON.
WHITEHALL; SATURDAY, 20/30 NOVEMBER 1619.

For BREWER, His Majesty will be well content with the course offered in POLYANDER's letter to your Lordship.

For his assurance: no good subject can refuse His Majesty's gracious promise, signified by my former letter to your Lordship.

Whitehall, 20° Novembris 1619.

S. P. *Holland.* Bundle 134.

SIR WILLIAM ZOUCHE TO SIR DUDLEY CARLETON.
FLUSHING; FRIDAY, 26 NOVEMBER /6 DECEMBER 1619.

Right Honourable. I have here waited a wind, these ten days [17/26 November]; but can get none good: nor fair weather. No day hath passed without a storm: and some of them so rude as the streets, in some places, have run with salt water that hath scaled the walls; and in other [places], it hath made pools and lakes, and kept the people within their own doors.

A ship, with a mast lost, brought news of a Tilt-Boat drowned; wherein were above thirty. Of them, about seven saved.

GEORGE MARTIN [the Post] is this day arrived; having been nine days between Rotterdam and here.

I have had scarce any opportunity to go over into Flanders; and Master BREWER [is] very unwilling to go that way in so bad weather.

He hath many friends in Middelburg; and those exceeding[ly] earnest in his Cause: as the Treasurer General; his brother [the] Chief of the Reckon[ing] Chamber; and his other brother [WILLEM], a Minister. Their name is TEELINCK. And one, Master VOSBERGHE, Chief Reckon-Master [*Accountant*]; who was on the way towards Holland, to speak to His Excellency [MAURICE, Prince of ORANGE], in Master BREWER's behalf: and to have advised him, to have challenged the privileges of the University and of the town [of Leyden]; by which he should have had his trial there.

They told me many stories of it; and how an Earl of HOLLAND had been denied to have a prisoner out of the town.

I was, on Monday was sevennight [15/25 November], invited to dinner by them [? *at Middelburg*]; wherein they did expostulate the business.

As, how great a power our King hath here, as to have a prisoner, after he had been kept in prison longer [than] the law of the land doth allow, to be sent to him, almost with breach of their privileges: and that he shall have ever the same power, if he perform the conditions made by your Lordship his Ambassador; who will not abuse them, but have authority from His Majesty for all you do.

But if the conditions are broken, they will be more wary to satisfy his demand again in the same kind; or to trust your Lordship.

And if there be any occasion, they [*the University of Leyden*] will write, and send in his behalf: and have persuaded me so to signify so much to His Majesty.

I have promised to tell so much to Master Secretary [Sir ROBERT NAUNTON]; and to the King, if it please him to question with me concerning him: otherwise I durst not, of myself, presume to speak with him about it.

I was much importuned, as if I had been a Great Man, and have had many promises of their loves and friendship, if I can shew him any; and they, being my Lords and Paymasters, may do it, if it please them.

My Lord, I pray you pardon my brevity; for I write in haste; and, it may be, I forget somewhat of this case.

The names of the other two that came with Master BREWER to Rotterdam, are JENKINS and LILE [*WILLIAM LYSLE*].

My duty and service remembered to your Lordship and my good Lady.

I commit your Lordship to GOD's protection !
Your Lordship's
as I ought, in all love, to serve you,
W. ZOUCHE.

Flushing,
the 26th of November 1619.

S. P. *Holland.* Bundle 134.

SIR DUDLEY CARLETON TO SIR ROBERT NAUNTON.
THE HAGUE; SUNDAY, 28 NOVEMBER /8 DECEMBER 1619.

The States [General]'s Fleet against the Pirates could not possibly put to sea until this day, which is the first easterly wind we have had for these six weeks past [*i.e. since 17th October*].

I hope it will carry over Sir WILLIAM ZOUCHE and Master BREWER to your Honour; who have lain long together at Flushing: and his fellow Brownists at Leyden are somewhat scandalized, because they hear Sir WILLIAM hath taught him to drink healths.

The Hague, the 28th of November 1619.

S. P. *Holland.* Bundle 134.

SIR ROBERT NAUNTON TO SIR DUDLEY CARLETON,
WHITEHALL; FRIDAY, 3/13 DECEMBER 1619.

My Lord Ambassador. Sir WILLIAM ZOUCHE is at length arrived with his Charge; wherewith I have acquainted His Majesty, the best I can in both their favour: and do now daily expect his own directions for my proceeding in that business.

Whitehall, the 3rd of December 1619.

S. P. *Holland.* Bundle 134.

It is delightful to find that JAMES I., after all this mighty preparation, came to feel that he was in a corner. BREWER's voluntary surrender, under the protection of the University of Leyden, had outwitted him. So he here turns round, and rebukes his Lord Ambassador. But Sir DUDLEY CARLETON knew him well; and had been sufficiently guarded, as his reply shows.

SIR ROBERT NAUNTON TO SIR DUDLEY CARLETON.
WHITEHALL; THURSDAY, 16/26 DECEMBER 1619.

BREWER's manner of coming hath a little troubled His Majesty, who saith, You should not have intermingled those instructions which he gave for the carriage of this business with the States [General], with any other fashion of proceeding with himself [*T. BREWER*], or with any other inferior Officers apart, as you have done.

For the charge of his journey, His Majesty hath no purpose to take it upon him longer than whiles he is within his dominions.

As for his coming hither, if it have proceeded from his own free motion only, His Majesty oweth it to him; and not to the States [General]: and so he would have you understand it, and tell them.

But if the States [General] had sent him, by their own authority, whether he had been willing to have come or not; His Majesty would have acknowledged the thanks to them for it. And His Majesty had no meaning to engage himself, nor purposes to do, further to the States [General] touching him, than that they should perceive he would not be cruel: and [that] his desire of his coming over, was to no other end but that he might know the truth.

All which, His Majesty's pleasure is, and I am commanded to instruct you, that you should take heed

of being too forward hereafter in confounding matters so different, and so punctually [*exactly*] to be distinguished, as are the overtures of treating with a free State, and the accepting of capitulations [*stipulations*] from a subject delinquent [*failing in his duty*].

He [*T. Brewer*] remaineth with one of the Messengers of the Chamber; and is to be examined by Sir John Benet and Sir Henry Martin.

You shall do well to cause his books and his letters, and alphabets [*types*] to be kept in safe custody at Leyden: as you advertised that they were.

Whitehall, 16° Decembris 1619.

S. P. *Holland.* Bundle 134.

SIR DUDLEY CARLETON TO SIR ROBERT NAUNTON.
THE HAGUE; SATURDAY, 1/11 JANUARY 1619/1620.

Right Honourable. In answer of your Honour's letter of the 16th of this last month and year; which yesterday I received, by this bearer, William Dirston:

First, concerning the manner of sending Brewer into England; I must humbly crave pardon for anything [that] was done therein different from His Majesty's pleasure: which is, and shall always be, a strict rule of my proceedings.

And though it be true that by public proposition in the assembly of the States General I did not press his remanding into England; knowing—as well by the speech I had with [Maurice] the Prince of Orange and some of the States: as likewise by the observation I make of their present carriage of affairs, which is full

of stiffness; out of jealousy [*fear*] they should be less curious and careful of [the] preservation of their privileges than those who were lately in Government —what rubs [*hindrances*] it would have met with. And I hold it no service to His Majesty to entangle his affairs with difficulties; when the end may be attained unto, by a more facile and feasible way.

Yet I did not so much forget myself, or my duty, as to capitulate [*make conditions*] with him; being, as your Honour saith, "a subject delinquent:" not having, at any time since his remanding came in question, so much as sent unto him; and, at his going, I refused to speak with him. So as all which passed was betwixt the Magistrates and chief Officers of the town and [of the] University of Leyden and himself. With which, it is true, they acquainted me; and I left it to them to proceed after their manner, so as His Majesty might be satisfied in the matter: which was to have him sent over, whereby to know the truth of what belonged to his printing.

And this I conceived would not have been disagreeable to His Majesty; having understood by your Honour's letter of the 20th of November, that His Majesty liked well of the course set down in POLYANDER's letter, which I sent your Honour: and that was no other than this which is since taken, as far as I can call to remembrance; not having retained a copy of POLYANDER's letter.

All I undertook for, was his good treatment in England, and yet that as a prisoner, not as a free man; and his safe return hither: for which I had His Majesty's order.

About the time of his going over [? 1/11 December]; a resolution was taken, at my motion, by the States

General, upon the first occasion to reprint and publish anew their Placaat [*Edict*] against private printings; with addition of a clause, which might comprehend more expressly than yet the Placaat doth, the chief friends and allies of this State.

Which [reprint] hitherto is not effected: but I most humbly refer it to His Majesty, Whether, at such a time as it is his pleasure to send BREWER back, I shall not call upon them for it? with declaration of the occasion which moves His Majesty thereunto.

Meantime, I fail not to send to Leyden, to cause his books, letters, and alphabets [*types*] to be safely kept; according as your Honour requires.

The Hague, this 1st of January 1619, *stylo vetero.*

S. P. *Holland.* Bundle 135.

SIR DUDLEY CARLETON TO SIR ROBERT NAUNTON.
THE HAGUE; THURSDAY, 13/23 JANUARY 1619/1620.

The States General have finally published a *Placaat* [*Edict*] against licentious printing of libels and pamphlets, either in strange languages or their own, which doth concern strangers [*foreigners*] in amity with this State, as well as themselves.

And though other Princes will receive benefit hereby: yet is it done only in His Majesty's contemplation [*behalf*]; and at my pursuit, [I] having carried the same through divers Colleges; as the States General; the States of [the Province of] Holland; and the High Councils, who do not usually give way to a restraint of any thing which may touch upon liberty.

And there is not a greater argument than this, of a

better temper in this State than formerly. Wherefore His Majesty may be pleased to take particular knowledge thereof to their Ambassadors [in England], to encourage them in well doing.

The Hague, the 13th of January 1620.

S. P. *Holland.* Bundle 135.

SIR ROBERT NAUNTON TO SIR DUDLEY CARLETON. WHITEHALL; FRIDAY, 14/24 JANUARY 1619/1620.

My Lord Ambassador. I have cleared His Majesty's construction the best I can, touching BREWER; who did all that a silly creature could, to increase his unsatisfaction: viz., standing upon Terms of Covenant publicly passed by your Lordship, and I know not what; as he saith, HEINSIUS, POLYANDER, and I know not who, assevered [*asseverated*] it unto him. But I have beaten him from his asse [*a punning allusion to BAALAM's ass*]; and drawn something from him that hath in part contented His Majesty: who bade me tell you, that he gives no credit to this fool's confident and improbable assertions; and that he will be very good friends with you, if you can procure BREWSTER to be taken, wherein he makes no doubt of your careful endeavour.

Whitehall, 14° Januarii 1619.

I thought fit to let you know by this Postscript, that I have discharged BREWER: who hath hitherto been defrayed by His Majesty; but offered to return upon his own charge.

I doubt [*suspect*] he will advise BREWSTER to conceal himself; and therefore have thus forewarned your Lordship.

He [*T. BREWER*] will be known of no privity, or so much as conjecture that he can make, how their pamphlets have been vented [*sold*]: which I presume will be better learned from him there [*at Leyden*], upon the place, before he shall be discharged; by perusing his papers, and other examinations.

S. P. *Holland.* Bundle 135.

SIR DUDLEY CARLETON TO SIR ROBERT NAUNTON. THE HAGUE; FRIDAY, 14/24 JANUARY 1619/1620.

The enclosed from POLYANDER will shew your Honour that BREWER's letters [*type*] and papers are in safe custody.

That which he enlargeth further concerns Master [WILLIAM] AMES: who, seeking for a Professor's place [in the University of Leyden] (if not in Divinity, yet in Logic, or some of the sciences), finds friends amongst the Curators; particularly PAUW of Amsterdam, whose sons he hath under his tutelage.

Upon knowledge whereof, I recommended to POLYANDER the care, as I have done formerly to all the Curators, that His Majesty should not be affronted with that man's preferment, before he had given full satisfaction to His Majesty in those things wherein he hath offended His Majesty.

From the Hague, this 14th of January 1619.

Enclosure.

JOHN POLYANDER TO SIR DUDLEY CARLETON.
LEYDEN; WEDNESDAY, 12/22 JANUARY 1619/1620.

Monseigneur. Les charactéres [*type*] de THOMAS BREWER sont bien gardés en la chambre de Messieurs les Curateurs; et ses livres et papiers en sa propre maison.

Touchant l'autre duquel votre Excellence me parla denièrement à la Haye; j'ai adverti mes amis de se donner garde d'offenser la Majesté de la Grande Bretagne, à laquelle nous sommes tant obligés, par une compassion imprudente. J'espère qu'ils en feront leur profit au contentement de votre Excellence.

Au demeurant, si en quelque autre affaire je puis faire par de ça quelque service à votre Excellence; je vous prie de fair état de moi, comme de votre

humble et fidèle serviteur,

JEHAN POLYANDER.

De Leyde,
le 22de Janvier 1620.

S. P. *Holland.* Bundle 135.

SIR ROBERT NAUNTON TO SIR DUDLEY CARLETON.
WHITEHALL; THURSDAY, 20/30 JANUARY 1619/1620.

Master BREWER being now dismissed, as I wrote in my last; His Majesty would have you take occasion, upon his coming back thither, to renew your former motion for publishing anew their Placaat [*Edict*] in more particular terms against printing of anything that may touch, or give distaste or prejudice to, their friends and allies.

Whitehall, 20° Januarii 1619.

S. P. *Holland.* Bundle 135.

SIR DUDLEY CARLETON TO SIR ROBERT NAUNTON.
THE HAGUE;
SATURDAY, 29 JANUARY /8 FEBRUARY 1619/1620.

Right Honourable. Your Honour's letter of the 14th of this present [month], came to my hands, by way of Antwerp, the 23rd.

Since which time, I have acquainted the Curators of the University of Leyden, with the good treatment which hath been given unto BREWER, far beyond his deserving; and with his delivery.

For which they render His Majesty their humble thanks. And, at his return hither—unless he undertake to them to do his uttermost in finding out of BREWSTER—wherein I will not fail likewise, of all other endeavours, he is not like[ly] to be at liberty.

The suspicion whereof, I believe, keeps him from hence; for, as yet, he appears not in these parts.

From the Hague, this 29th of January 1619.

S. P. *Holland.* Bundle 135.

THE UNIVERSITY OF LEYDEN DECIDE STILL TO KEEP THOMAS BREWER'S TYPE.
LEYDEN; SATURDAY, 29 APRIL /9 MAY 1620.

At a Meeting held the 9th of May 1620.
A certain Memorial of the Ambassador CARLETON is read, to the effect, That the types and papers of BREWER might remain in keeping here.
It is resolved to keep the said types as hitherto.*

Quoted by H. C. M. in *Historical Magazine*, Vol. IV., p. 6., Boston and New York, 1860, 4.

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* This Resolution clearly proves that BREWER had not returned to Leyden up to the date of passing it.—E. A.

In dealing with the publications of the Pilgrim Press, we must proceed from the certain to the probable.

That WILLIAM BREWSTER printed the following two books is absolutely certain: for their imprints contain his name and address.

1. THOMAS CARTWRIGHT. Commentarii succinti et dilucidi in Proverbia SALOMONIS. Quibus adhibita est Præfatio. . . . JOHANNIS POLYANDRI, Sanctæ Theologiæ Professoris, Leidensis.

Lugduni Batavorum. Apud GUILIELMUM BREWSTERUM. In vico Chorali. 1617. 4.

Professor POLYANDER'S *Preface* is dated 31 December /10 January 1616/1617. It would be only reasonable to allow two months for the production of a considerable Work like this. That would take us back to October 1616; about which time Sir DUDLEY CARLETON tells us, at page 216, the printing began. Therefore this was probably the first book that WILLIAM BREWSTER sent to press.

King JAMES could, of course, see nothing objectionable in a Work of this kind. We have seen that Professor POLYANDER was active in suppressing the Pilgrim Press in 1619; and perhaps all the more so, from his having contributed a *Preface* to this non-controversial book printed at it.

The next book that probably issued from the Pilgrim Press was probably the following Work, written by Doctor WILLIAM AMES against NIKOLAAS GREVINCHOVIUS.

2. GUILIELMI AMESII ad *Responsium* NICOLAI GREVINCHOVII, *Rescriptio contracta.*

Prostant Lugduni Batavorum. Apud GUILIELMUM BREWSTERUM. In vico Chorali. 1617. 16.

After the production of these two books, BREWSTER omitted his name and the place of printing from the imprints of all the books produced by him.

Next to the above two works, as to perfect certainty of issue from the Pilgrim Press, is the following book: which Sir DUDLEY CARLETON stated on 22 July /1 August 1619, see page 200, that "BREWSTER doth openly avow."

3. De vera et genuina JESU CHRISTI Domini et Salvatoris nostri Religione.

Authore Ministr. Angl.
Impressis Anno Domini 1618. 16.

Of this Work, the only two copies at present known are in the Bodleian Library, Oxford. Press-marks. 8° A.13. Th. BS.; and 8° C. 587. Linc.

Sir DUDLEY CARLETON, at page 199, states that BREWSTER also printed the following bulky Work.

4. THOMAS CARTWRIGHT. A Confutation of the Rhemists' Translation, Glosses, and Annotations on the New Testament
Printed in the year 1618, fol.
And this accords with unbroken tradition.

Here then we have four Works, printed in 1617—1618, of a non-contentious character as regards the British Government; the production of which by BREWSTER, was either avowed by him, or is otherwise equally certain.

Starting with these, Sir DUDLEY CARLETON tells us, at page 209, that certain experienced Dutch printers affirmed that the following two books were printed from the same type. It is very likely that they knew the type well; and that BREWER originally bought it from some Dutch printer or type-founder. It would be well if this opinion could be tested by some typographical expert in the present day.

5. [DAVID CALDERWOOD.] Perth Assembly. 1619. 4.

De regimine Ecclesiæ Scoticanæ brevis Relatio. 1619. 8.
Apparently two editions of this small book were printed in

Holland ; the second one, in point of time, by WILLIAM BREWSTER at Leyden. We have only met with one of these editions. It has no name of Author. But when CALDERWOOD reprinted it in 1623, at the end of his *Altare Damascenum*, he gave it the name of an imaginary Author, HIERONYMUS PHILADELPHUS. So the correct full title is

6. HIERONYMUS PHILADELPHUS [i.e. DAVID CALDERWOOD]. De regimine Ecclesiæ Scoticanæ brevis Relatio. 1619. 8.

Before we pass from these two books, the production of which more especially led to the suppression of the Pilgrim Press ; we may dwell for a moment upon the *Perth Assembly* of 1619.

The General Assemblies of the Kirk of Scotland were the regular pitched battles between the British King and the Scotch nation. In the General Assembly that sat at Perth on 25th—27th August 1618 ; JAMES I. was particularly aggressive and violent in his attempts to force Episcopacy upon an unwilling people.

DAVID CALDERWOOD then wrote his book called *Perth Assembly* ; which was sent over to Leyden to be printed at the Pilgrim Press.

From the following, slightly abridged, passage from the Rev. THOMAS THOMSON'S *Life of DAVID CALDERWOOD*, in Vol. VIII. of the Woodrow Society's Ed. of his *History &c.*, it would appear that copies of this invective were in Scotland in April 1619 ; though they were not put into circulation till the June following, as CALDERWOOD tells us himself, see page 181.

Sir DUDLEY CARLETON first met with a copy, at the Hague on 15/25 July of that year ; see page 198.

While these violent proceedings of the Perth Assembly were in progress, CALDERWOOD was still lurking in Scotland ; and shifting from place to place, according to the emergency. His chief concealment was in Cranstoun [near Edinburgh] ; where a secret chamber had been prepared for him, by the kindness of

Lady CRANSTOUN; and in which he could lurk unsuspected, notwithstanding the strict search by which he was surrounded.

It may be easily imagined that the unrighteous measures of the Prelatic faction were viewed by him, from the loopholes of his retreat, with mingled indignation and sorrow. But he did not confine himself merely to silent feeling; and, although an utterance of any kind was sure to complicate his dangers, he wrote the well known tract entitled *Perth Assembly*: in which he demonstrated the utter nullity of that Meeting and all its proceedings.

It was no easy matter to embody such a work in types, and bring it before the eyes of the Scottish public. And, therefore, it had to be printed in Holland; so anonymously withal, that it bore the name neither of Author, Printer, nor Place of Publication: and the copies were smuggled over into Scotland, in April 1619, with great risk and difficulty—in short, the pamphlets were packed up in *vats*; as if they had been a mercantile consignment of French wines or strong waters [*brandy*].

Even then, they had to encounter all the hazards that commonly belong to contraband wares.

When they were landed at Burntisland, the Minister of the parish, being a Prelatist, would fain have searched these suspicious looking commodities: but was only prevented by the accredited functionary of such inquests—the Collector of the Customs.

From Burntisland, these vats were brought to Leith: and while they lay upon the landing place, among other packages containing French articles of traffic, the sharp-eyed [JOHN SPOTTISWOOD] Archbishop of ST ANDREWS passed by, and looked at them; but happily without suspicion.

But the matter and style of *Perth Assembly* betrayed its authorship: so that the King and Bishops, in deep resentment, not only denounced the Work as an atrocious and seditious Libel; but prosecuted the search after CALDERWOOD more keenly than ever.

On this account, the house of JAMES CATHKIN (a distinguished bookseller in Edinburgh; and a well known adherent of the Historian) was particularly suspected, and carefully rummaged: but although there were five or six copies of the pamphlet lying upon the very bed which CALDERWOOD, at that time, had been in the practice of using; the searchers did not perceive them.

At length, in August 1619, he embarked at Newhaven [, on the Firth of Forth], for Holland ; and reached that country in safety.

The generous-hearted ladies of the Scottish metropolis took care that the uncompromising Champion of the Church they loved so well, should not depart into exile in a state of utter destitution. This was sneeringly alluded to by his enemy, SPOTTISWOOD . . . and he talked of "that knave who is now loupen over sea, with his purse well filled by the wives of Edinburgh."

CATHKIN was groundlessly suspected of having printed the tract of the *Perth Assembly* : and, in consequence of this suspicion, he was apprehended, in June 1619, at London ; whither he had repaired in the course of his mercantile transactions.

He was examined by no less a Personage than the august Sovereign himself.

"Where were ye born ?" demanded the King.

"In the city of Edinburgh," replied the bibliopole.

"What religion are ye of ?" rejoined the King.

"Of the religion your Majesty professes," said the bookseller.

"The devil take you away, both body and soul ! for you are none of my religion. You are a recusant. You go not to Church.'

The royal polemic, having now waxed warm, proceeded to argue in favour of Holy Days ; but finding that the Presbyterian bookseller would not be persuaded, he broke off with, "Ye are worse than Turks and Jews !" Then, turning to the Courtiers who were standing by, he exclaimed, in a towering passion, "I can never get order of these people of Edinburgh ! I forgave them the seventeenth day. The devil rive their souls and bodies all in collops, and cast them into hell !"

After this unkingly outburst, JAMES proceeded to question the bookseller about the publishing of *Perth Assembly* ; but in this, the latter denied all participation.

He was then asked, Whether CALDERWOOD had resorted to his house, while lurking about Edinburgh ?

And the honest bookseller, being pressed with this question, was obliged to confess, That CALDERWOOD had occasionally slept at his house ; and that he had spokne with him, within these fifteen days.

"We have found the taed !" cried the King exultingly. "Let

us hold us here, forsooth! Master DAVID CALDERWOOD is a good brother, and a good lear father!"

CATHKIN was then charged with having declared the Assembly of Perth to be unlawful [*this word, used in* 1849, = illegal]: and, in allusion to the refusal of the Presbyterians to receive the Communion kneeling, the King said of the bookseller, still on his knees, "See, thir people will kneel to me; and will not kneel to GOD!" JAMES then endeavoured alternately to puzzle and browbeat his victim into conformity with the [*Five*] *Articles*: but CATHKIN's Presbyterianism was of too sturdy a character to be thus overcome.

He was remanded to prison for further examination: and it was shortly after this singular interview, that his house in Edinburgh was searched; as has been already mentioned.

After a confinement of three weeks, he was set at liberty: as he made it evident that he had taken no part in the printing, or sale, of *Perth Assembly*.

We have identified a Volume in Doctor WILLIAMS's Library in Gordon square, London, Press-mark, 12-30-32, containing the five following texts in octavo.

7. An Answer to the *Ten Counter Demands* propounded by T. DRAKES [, or THOMAS DRAX], Preacher of the Word at H[arwich] and D[overcourt], in the county of Essex.

By WILLIAM EURING.

Printed in the year 1619. 8.

The only copy at present known. The *Ten Counter Demands* is apparently totally lost: and its existence is only known from this reply.

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8. The People's Plea for the Exercise of Prophecy. Against Master JOHN YATES [Preacher in Norwich] his Monopoly,

By JOHN ROBINSON.

Printed in the year 1618. 8.

It is not clear that YATES's book was actually printed. If it was, it is now apparently quite lost.

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9. Certain Reasons of a Private Christian against Conformity to Kneeling in the very act of receiving the LORD's Supper.

By THOMAS DIGHTON Gent[leman].

Anno 1618. 8.

There is another copy of this Work in the Bodleian Library, Oxford. Press-mark 8. D. 57. Th.

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10. The Second Part of a plain Discourse of an unlettered Christian . . . in refusing Conformity to Kneeling in the act of receiving the LORD'S Supper.

By THOMAS DIGHTON Gent[leman].

Printed in the year 1619. 8.

? The only copy at present known.

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11. A true, modest, and just Defence of The *Petition for Reformation* exhibited [in 1603] to the King's most excellent Majesty.

Containing an *Answer* to the *Confutation* published [in 1603] under the names of some of the University of Oxford [; and reprinted in 1608 and 1612].

Imprinted 1618. 8.

Any one seeing this volume in Doctor WILLIAMS's Library, would at once say, That all these five rare texts came from the same Press; but that there was nothing to show where that Press was.

If however we look at their literary character and general drift, we cannot but believe that they issued from the Pilgrim Press at Leyden: for if one was printed there, the rest were.

If any one doubts this; he must indicate where else, in the years 1618 and 1619, it would have been possible to have printed such English books as these. Who, for instance, would have dared to have printed WILLIAM EURING's book but the Pilgrims themselves?

We now come to editions which are more uncertain; but which still may be reasonably assigned to the Pilgrim Press at Leyden: mainly because, for books of such a character, and of those dates, no other place of origin can be suggested. Typographical experts could however settle the question.

They are all reprints of "Holy Discipline," or of Brownist, tracts.

[12. (WALTER TRAVERS.) A full and plain Declaration of Ecclesiastical Discipline out of the Word of GOD; and of the declining of the Church of England from the same. Reprinted 1617. 4.

Copies of this Edition are in the British Museum, Press-mark, 4106. b.; and the Bodleian Library, Oxford, Press-mark, A. 9. 16. Linc.]

[13. (JOHN FIELD and THOMAS WILCOX.) An Admonition to the Parliament holden 13 *Eliz.*, 1570—1571.

An Exhortation to the Bishops to deal brotherly with their Bretheren.

An Exhortation to the Bishops to answer a little book [*The Admonition &c.*] that came forth the last Parliament.

(THOMAS CARTWRIGHT.) A Second Admonition to the Parliament.

Imprinted 1617. 4.

A copy of this Edition is in the Bodleian Library, Oxford, Press-mark A. 9. 6. Linc.]

The late Doctor H. MARTYN DEXTER had a copy of each of the following reprint editions. They will probably be found in the Dexter Collection; now in Yale University Library, New Haven, Connecticut.

[14. R. H. (RICHARD HARRISON). A Little Treatise upon Ps. cxxii. 1, stirring up unto careful desiring, and dutifully labouring for, true Church Government. 1618. 16.]

[15. (LAURENCE CHADERTON). A fruitful Sermon on Romans, xii. 3-8. 1618. 16.]

It is possible that the identification of other issues of the Pilgrim Press may reward the bibliographical hunt that will now set in after them: and hunting after lost books, beats fox-hunting.

Should, however, the above List prove to be complete; it abundantly witnesses to the great energy with which WILLIAM BREWSTER drave on this printing effort.

Let us arrange the Works chronologically under the years. A stricter sequence is not possible.

1617.

1. Thomas Cartwright. Commentarii . . . in Proverbia Salomonis. 4.
2. Doctor William Ames. Rescriptio contracta. 16.
12. [Walter Travers.] A Declaration of Ecclesiastical Discipline. 4.
13. [John Field and Thomas Wilcox.] An Admonition to the Parliament.
[Thomas Cartwright.] A Second Admonition to the Parliament. 4

1618.

3. De vera et genuina Jesu Christi . . . Religione. 16.
4. Thomas Cartwright. A Confutation of the Rhemists' Translation, &c. fol.
8. John Robinson. The People's Plea. 8.
9. Thomas Dighton. Certain Reasons . . . against Conformity to Kneeling &c. 8.
11. A Defence of *The Petition for Reformation.* 8.
14. R. H. [Richard Harrison.] A little Treatise upon Ps. cxxii. 1. 16.
15. [Laurence Chaderton.] A Sermon on Rom. xii. 3-8. 16.

1619.

5. [David Calderwood.] Perth Assembly. 4.
6. [David Calderwood.] De regimine Ecclesiæ Scoticanæ brevis Relatio. 8.
7. William Euring. An Answer to Thomas Drakes' *Ten Counter Demands.* 8.
10. Thomas Dighton. The Second Part . . . refusing Conformity to kneeling. 8.

The above fifteen books, if not more, were produced in the thirty-three months, at the furthest, between October 1616 and June 1619, both inclusive.

Considering the rate at which books were then produced, the amount of matter, both in Latin and in English, that was put into type, was certainly considerable; as the secret

organization for its production could not, in any case, have been a large one.

We assume that the books were printed off, or as it is now called "machined," at Dutch hand printing presses.

THOMAS BREWER was nothing daunted with his Leyden experiences. He lived for the "Holy Discipline"; and suffered much on its behalf.

The following extracts tell us briefly the story of the rest of his life.

JAMES MARTIN'S DETECTION OF BROWNISTS IN KENT.
SUNDAY, 17/27 SEPTEMBER 1626.

A Detection of certain dangerous Puritans and Brownists in Kent.

I. THOMAS BREWER, Gentleman, who hath writ a book [*but ? not printed it*], containing about half a quire of paper; wherein he prophesies the destruction of England within three years, by two Kings: one from the North, another from the South.

The said BREWER coming, not long since, from Amsterdam, where he became a perfect Brownist; and being a man of good estate, is the general patron of the Kentish Brownists: who, by his means, daily and dangerously increase.

He, the said BREWER, hath printed a most pestilent book beyond the seas: whereir. he affirmeth, That King JAMES would be the ruin of Religion. To the like purpose, he published a book or two more: which DAVID PAREUS, at Neustadt, shewed to a Knight, who told me of it.

2. One TURNER, a candle-maker or chandler, of Sutton Valence in Kent, preaches in houses, barns, and woods, That the Church of England is the Whore of Babylon, and the Synagogue of SATAN, &c. He hath many followers: and is maintained principally by the said THOMAS BREWER; whose Chaplain he seems to be.

3 and 4. One WINOCK and [one] CRUMPE at Maidstone, both rich men, as far as in them lies, maintain these Sectaries.

Witnesses of the Premisses are

Sir P. H.; Knight.

Master BARRELL, Preacher of Maidstone.

Master SIMONDSON, Schoolmaster of Maidstone, and
Master FISHER, of Maidstone.
With many more.
Testified by them, September 16 and 17, 1626.
JAMES MARTIN, M.A.
S.P. Dom. *Ch. I.*, Vol. 35, No. 110.

A posthumous Work by THOMAS BREWER, appeared in London, [on 25 August] 1656, in 8vo. British Museum Press-mark E. 1654 (1). It is entitled *Gospel Public Worship &c.*, and is an Exposition of Rom. xii. 1-8, and Matthew xviii., already referred to at pp. 27, 30. The following extracts from its Preface tell us of the fate which overtook BREWER; and which would certainly have overtaken WILLIAM BREWSTER, had he been caught.

Reader. In the ensuing Treatises are represented to thy view, a few of those many excellent manuscripts penned by Master THOMAS BREWER: who (besides many former, and some long, persecutions endured under the Prelates) suffered imprisonment [on and from 18th October 1626] by the Bishops in the King's Bench Prison, above the space of fourteen years [together with a fine of £1,000], for saying

> That because the Prelates did not derive their Offices from His Majesty as they ought: therefore he durst not partake with them, nor the derivers of their Offices from them, in the proper works of their Offices.

Who upon the presentation of the said *Petition* [to the House of Lords on 24 November 1640] was released: but, about a month after, he died in a good old age and full of days [æt. 65.]

Most of which were the Author's own experiences and practices and experimental observations. Who, in the time of his liberty, was a frequent publisher of them himself at Leyden in Holland; where he walked in communion with Master ROBINSON and also with Master AINSWORTH. Also, after the time of his restraint, procuring liberty of his Keeper; and sometimes in the Prison; he taught them frequently in several Congregations in London.

CHAPTER XXVI.

The two Virginia Companies.

1606—{1624. 1635.

THE two English Virginia Companies were the stepping stones to our colonization of New England. In themselves, they did not prosper: the London one became bankrupt, and had its *Charter* annulled; and the Plymouth one voluntarily surrendered up its *Charter* to King Charles I. But it is hard to conceive how New England and Virginia could ever have been peopled by Englishmen, but for these Societies.

King James I. created them, by giving them *Charters* on the 10/20 April 1606, as

The First, or London, Virginia Company; to which was assigned American territory between 34° and 41° N. Lat.

The Second, or Plymouth, Virginia Company; to which was assigned American territory between 38° and 45° N. Lat.

We will now very briefly sketch the history of each Company; and then gather from their Minutes, what information they can give us respecting the Pilgrim Fathers, down to 1623.

THE FIRST, OR LONDON, VIRGINIA COMPANY. TUESDAY, 10/20 APRIL 1606—WEDNESDAY, 16/26 JUNE 1624.

AFTER WHICH THERE WERE THE LORDS COMMISSIONERS FOR VIRGINIA. THURSDAY, 15/25 JULY 1624— ?

WE shall see, at page 289, ROBERT CUSHMAN'S account of the Split in this Society on the 28th April 1619. From that day, until the 16th June 1624, when MILTON'S JAMES LEY (afterwards the 1st Lord LEY, and later on, the 1st Earl of MARLBOROUGH), Lord Chief Justice, pronounced a Judgement against the Company, and annulled its *Charter*: during all these years, the Council of this Society was torn in sunder by two factions. This was however nothing but what was going on all over Great Britain. Everywhere there was a struggle between the Royal Prerogative and Popular Election.

What may be regarded as the King's Party, being those to whom he shewed favour, was headed by ROBERT RICH, 2nd Earl of WARWICK; Sir THOMAS SMITH; Sir NATHANIEL RICH; Sir HENRY MILDMAY; and Alderman Sir ROBERT JOHNSON.

What may be regarded as the People's Party, was headed by HENRY WRIOTHESLY, 3rd Earl of SOUTHAMPTON (the Patron of SHAKESPEARE); WILLIAM CAVENDISH, 1st Earl of DEVONSHIRE; Sir EDWARD SACKVILLE; Sir JOHN OGLE; and Sir EDWIN SANDYS.

(S. P. Colonial, Vol. II., 11 & 25 March 1623).

According to modern ideas, the action of Sir THOMAS

Smith, after he had voluntarily laid down the Treasurership of the Society, was perfectly indefensible.

The State Papers represent the views of the Popular Party: and the Duke of Manchester's Papers, now temporarily lodged in the Public Record Office, represent the views of the King's Party.

On the 7/17 May 1623, the Council, in which the Popular Party (of which Sir Edwin Sandys was the moving spirit) had then the majority, issued a Declaration setting forth, That the one chief root of all these divisions has been some Instruments of the Earl of Warwick. This *Declaration* will be found in John Burk's *History of Virginia*, i. 316, Ed. 1822, 8.

Arthur Woodnoth, who was also of the Popular Party, published *A Short Collection of the most remarkable Passages, from the Original to the Dissolution of the Virginia Company.* London, 1651, 4. British Museum Press-mark, B. 626 (3).

Mr Conway Robinson has edited for the Virginia Historical Society (*Collections*, New Series, Vol. 7), *An Abstract of the Proceedings of the Virginia Company of London*, 1619—1621, Richmond, Va., 1888, 8.; from Two Volumes which contain the duplicate Minutes of the Company, from the 28th April 1619 (the day Sir Edwin Sandys was made Treasurer) until the 7th June 1624, nine days before Lord Chief Justice Ley annulled the Company's *Charter*.

These two Volumes of Minutes, after many wanderings, are now amongst the manuscript treasures of the Library of Congress at Washington.

The original Minutes have apparently perished. It would have been distinctly to the interest of Sir Thomas Smith and his party, that they should perish.

The history of the preservation of a contemporaneous Copy of the original Records is thus given.

"In one of the old mansions of rural Chelsea (which, tradition says, was the home of Sir THOMAS MORE, the warm friend of Erasmus, and author of the political romance of *Utopia*), there dwelt, in 1624, Sir JOHN DANVERS, a prominent member of the Virginia Company; who had married the gentle and comely Widow HERBERT: already the mother of ten children; two of whom were GEORGE the holy Poet, and EDWARD the philosophical Deist.

"After the King had resolved to annul the *Charter* of the Company; an attempt was made to obtain the Records by their opponents.

"The Secretary of the Company [EDWARD] COLLINGWOOD, probably under the direction of Deputy [Governor] NICHOLAS FERRAR, one day visited Sir JOHN DANVERS; and mentioned, That three London merchants had lately called upon him, to obtain information.

"A Clerk of COLLINGWOOD's [EDWARD WATERHOUSE] was immediately secured as [a] copyist: and, to preclude discovery, [he] was locked up in a room in DANVERS' house; while he transcribed the Minutes.

"After the Transactions were copied on folio paper; to prevent interpolation, each page was carefully compared with the originals by COLLINGWOOD; and then subscribed *Con* [*i.e. Congruit*] COLLINGWOOD: [when] DANVERS took them to the President of the Company, HENRY WRIOTHESLEY, Earl of SOUTHAMPTON.

"The Earl was highly gratified in the possession of a duplicate copy of the Company's Transactions: and expressed it, by throwing his arms around the neck of Sir JOHN; and then, turning to his brother, said, 'Let them be kept at my house at Tichfield. They are the Evidences [*Title-deeds*] of my honour: and I value them more than the Evidences of my lands.'" Rev. Dr. E. D. NEILL, *History &c.*, pp. iii, iv., Ed. 1869, 4.

The Rev. Doctor EDWARD D. NEILL searched these duplicate Minutes at Washington, and printed his gatherings in his *History of the Virginia Company of London*, Ed. 1869, 4.

We give at pp. 253, 254, such Minutes from this Work, as relate to our present Story.

THE SECOND, OR PLYMOUTH, VIRGINIA COMPANY.
TUESDAY, 10/20 APRIL 1606—MONDAY, 2/12 NOVEMBER 1620.

THEN, ON THE GRANTING OF THE GREAT *CHARTER*, THE COUNCIL FOR THE AFFAIRS OF NEW ENGLAND IN AMERICA, OR MORE BRIEFLY, THE COUNCIL FOR NEW ENGLAND.
TUESDAY, 3/13 NOVEMBER 1620—SUNDAY, 7/17 JUNE 1635.

N spite of its title, the Council of this Society usually met for business in London.

Sir FERDINANDO GORGES was the ruling spirit of this Company.

Many of the original Minutes of the Council of this Company are preserved in the Public Record Office at London, in S. P. *Colonial*, Vols. I. and II.

Those of these Minutes which are material to our present purpose will be found quoted at pp. 255-261.

The firm settlement, under another *Charter*, of the Massachusetts Bay, by Governor JOHN WINTHROP and his associates, practically superseded this Company.

The following documents tell the end of this effort.

1635.

25 April. Declaration of the Council for New England, for the resignation of the great *Charter*.

1st May. The presentation of this *Declaration* to King CHARLES I.

7th June. The Act of Surrender of the great Charter to the King.

S. P. *Colonial*, Vol. VIII., Nos. 54, 58, 60.

MINUTES OF THE TWO VIRGINIA COMPANIES, RELATING TO THE PILGRIM FATHERS, IN CHRONOLOGICAL ORDER. 1619—1624.

THE MINUTES OF THE LONDON VIRGINIA COMPANY.

From the Rev. Dr. E. D. NEILL's *History of the Virginia Company*, Ed. 1869, 4.

WEDNESDAY, 26 MAY /5 JUNE 1619.

May 26, 1619. One Master WENCOP, commended to the Company by [THEOPHILUS CLINTON, *alias* FIENNES], the [4th] Earl of LINCOLN, intending to go in person to Virginia and there to plant himself and his Associates [*the Pilgrim Fathers*], presented his *Patent* now to the Court: which was referred to the Committee that meeteth upon Friday morning [28th May] at Master Treasurer's [Sir EDWIN SANDYS'] house [, near Aldersgate], to consider; and if need be, to correct the same. p. 128.

WEDNESDAY, 9/19 JUNE 1619.

By reason it grew late, and the Court [was] ready to break up; and as yet Master JOHN WHINCOP's *Patent* for him and his Associates to be read: it was ordered, That the seal should be annexed unto it. And have referred the trust thereof to the Auditors to examine that it agree with the original: which if it do not, they have promised to bring it into the Court, and cancel it. p. 128.

WEDNESDAY, 2/12 FEBRUARY 1619/1620.

At a great and general Quarter Court holden for Virginia, at Sir EDWIN SANDYS' house, near Aldersgate, the 2nd of February 1619 [1620].

The Treasurer, Sir EDWIN SANDYS, of Grants of Land: he acquainted them of four several pair of Indentures lying, all engrossed, before them. . . .

Fourth. To JOHN PEIRCE and his Associates [*the Pilgvim Fathers*], their heirs and assigns.

Which—being, all four, now read and examined; and finding them agree with the drafts perused and allowed by the Auditors—were all of them allowed; and sealed, in view of the Court, with a total approbation. p. 168.

The *Mayflower* returned to London on the 6th May 1621; and on the following 1st June, JOHN PEIRCE took a *Patent* from the Council for New England.

MONDAY, 16/26 JULY 1621.

July 16th. It was moved, seeing that Master JOHN PEIRCE had taken a *Patent* of Sir FERDINANDO GORGES, and thereupon [had] seated his Company within the limits of the Northern Plantations, as by some was supposed; whereby, as by some was supposed, he seemed to relinquish the benefit of the *Patent* he took of this Company: that therefore the said *Patent* might be called in; unless it might appear [that] he would begin to plant within the limits of the Southern Colony. p. 133.

WEDNESDAY, 13/23 FEBRUARY 1621/1622.

February 13th, 1621. Master Deputy [Treasurer, JOHN FERRAR] acquainted the Court, that one Master JOHN CLARKE, being taken, [coming] from Virginia, long since [*in* 1612], by a Spanish ship that came to discover that Plantation, That forasmuch as he hath since that time, done the Company good service in many voyages to Virginia; and, of late [*i.e. in* 1619, *see page* 316], went into Ireland, for transportation of cattle to Virginia: he was a humble suitor to this Court, that he might be a Free Brother of the Company, and have some shares of land bestowed upon him.

The Rev. Doctor E. D. NEILL adds, "He was hired by DANIEL GOOKIN, owner of the *Providence*, to take that ship to Virginia; which arrived April 10th 1623. [See S. P. Colonial, Vol. II., 14 April 1623]. And, soon after this, he died in the Colony." pp. 132, 133.

THE MINUTES OF THE COUNCIL FOR NEW ENGLAND. 31 MAY 1622—5 MAY 1623.

S. P. *Colonial*, Vol. II.; in the Public Record Office at London.

WHITEHALL; FRIDAY, 31 MAY /10 JUNE 1622.

Present.

[LODOVICK STUART,] the [1st] Duke of LENOX.	Sir FERDINANDO GORGES.
[THOMAS HOWARD,] the [14th] Earl of ARUNDEL.	Sir SAMUEL ARGALL.
[EDWARD GORGES] the [1st] Lord GORGES [of Dundalk].	Doctor BARNABY GOCHE.
Sir ROBERT MANSELL.	

First, it is ordered, That, concerning the Complaint made of Master WESTON; Petition shall be made to His Majesty for the forfeiture of his ship and goods to the President and Council's use.

It is ordered that Doctor GOCHE shall be Treasurer.

FRIDAY, 5/15 JULY 1622.

The Lord GORGES.	Sir SAMUEL ARGALL.
Sir FERDINANDO GORGES.	Dr B. GOCHE, Treasurer.

First, it is ordered, That DAVID THOMPSON do attend the Lords [of the Privy Council], with a Petition to His Majesty, for forfeits committed by THOMAS WESTON.

SATURDAY, 2/12 NOVEMBER 1622.

Dr B. GOCHE, Treasurer.	Sir SAMUEL ARGALL.
Sir FERDINANDO GORGES.	Captain THOMAS LOVE.

It is ordered, That a Commission be engrossed for Captain FRANCIS WEST ; and afterwards sealed.

[It was sealed on 30th November /10 December 1622.]

FRIDAY, 8/18 NOVEMBER 1622.

Master Treasurer. | Sir SAMUEL ARGALL.
Sir FERDINANDO GORGES.

It is agreed on, That there shall be a Commission granted to Captain FRANCIS WEST, to go to New England, Captain of the ship called the *Plantation*; and Admiral of that coast during this voyage.

And this clause to be inserted in the Commission, That he hath power to take any to associate [with] him there, for the despatch of his employments, according as he shall think meet.

And that a *Patent* be granted to Captain THOMAS SQUIBB, to be aiding and assisting to the Admiral.

[It was sealed on 22nd November 1622.]

WEDNESDAY, 13/23 NOVEMBER 1622.

The Lord GORGES. | Sir SAMUEL ARGALL.
Master Treasurer. | Dr. MATTHEW SUTCLIFFE.
Sir FERDINANDO GORGES. | [, Dean of Exeter.]

Sir ROBERT MANSELL'S Note for payment in of his Adventure of £110, is accepted *prout patet.*

"I am contented to pay this sum this time two years certain ; or within six months after such time, as I shall receive letters of advertisement from Captain SQUIBB, after his discovery and survey of Mount Mansell ; or else, within six months after his return thence.

"And hereunto I subscribe, this 19th of November 1622.

Testatur. RO: MANSELL."

FRANCIS SHELDEN.
THOMAS SQUIBB.

[This Note of Hand was accepted on 22nd November 1622.]

TUESDAY, 19/29 NOVEMBER 1622.

Master Treasurer.	Sir SAMUEL ARGALL.
Sir FERDINANDO GORGES.	Dr. MATTHEW SUTCLIFFE.

It is ordered, That a letter be written from the Council to Master WESTON, to deliver to LEONARD PEDDOCK, a boy, native of New England, called PAPA WHINETT, belonging to ABBADAKEST, Sachem of Massachusets [*i.e. Boston Bay*]: which boy, Master PEDDOCK is to carry over [to New England] with him.

[*For Minute of* 17/27 *December* 1622, *respecting Captain* THOMAS *JONES*; *see page* 393.]

TUESDAY, 21/31 JANUARY 1622/1623.

Master Treasurer.	Sir SAMUEL ARGALL.
Sir FERDINANDO GORGES.	

EMANUEL ALTUM [*or rather* ALLTHAM] goeth Captain in the new pinnace [the *Little James*], built for Master PEIRCE's Plantation.

TUESDAY, 18/28 FEBRUARY 1622/1623.

[JOHN RAMSAY,] the Earl of HOLDERNESS. Vice-President.	Sir FERDINANDO GORGES.
[ROBERT RICH,] the [2nd] Earl of WARWICK.	Sir JOHN BOURCHIER.
	Sir HENRY SPELMAN.
	Sir SAMUEL ARGALL.
	Captain THOMAS LOVE.

Whereas a Petition was exhibited to this Council, in the behalf of Master PEIRCE and his Associates, for a certificate unto the Mayor of Norwich, to redeliver certain barrels of meal which they had provided to transport to New England, for relief of the Planters there; being stayed by the Mayor or his Officers.

The Council answered their Petition *prout etc.*

The Council misinformed by Plymouth Company.

The Mayor and Aldermen answer hereunto, by letter dated the day [of March 1622, *see page* 259]; whereby it appeared the Council were misinformed by the Company, and by one ROUNCE.

TUESDAY, 25 FEBRUARY /7 MARCH 1622/1623.

Sir FERDINANDO GORGES.	Sir SAMUEL ARGALL.
Sir HENRY SPELMAN.	
The Pilgrim Fathers.	

R.

Whereas the Adventurers for Master PEIRCE's Plantation exhibited their Petition for the altering of some part of the Licence granted for the *Little James* to SAMUEL ALTHEM [*or rather* ALLTHAM] Captain, viz.

That in consideration of many crosses and losses by them lately sustained, they might have to themselves the Moiety—formerly reserved unto the Council—[of] all such prizes as they should seize and lawfully take upon the coasts of New England; as by the Petition and Licence appeareth.

It is ordered and agreed accordingly. And a Licence is now sealed and signed by ROBERT [RICH, 2nd Earl of] WARWICK, [Sir] FERDINANDO GORGES, [Sir] SAMUEL ARGALL; and the former Licence is cancelled, in the presence of the said Council.

TUESDAY, 11/21 MARCH 1622/1623.

Sir FERDINANDO GORGES. | Sir HENRY SPELMAN.

It is ordered, That the Clerk give notice to Master JOHN PEIRCE, to attend the Council on Tuesday next, to answer such Complaints as his Associates shall object.

EMMANUEL ALTHAM, Captain of the *Little James* of London, and other of the Adventurers of New Plymouth, crave the aid of the Council, for [the] discharging of some of their ship's company; which were lately pressed [*i.e. by a Press Gang*] by the Marshal of the Admiralty, for His Majesty's service.

Whereupon, the Clerk was willed to acquaint the Marshal, That these persons were shipped in the *Little James* to go to New England; and therefore were free, by His Majesty's *Charter* granted to the Council [for New England].

The Marshal answered, That he sent not on board [the *Little James*], to press any: but if any were pressed, it was their own fault to be abroad [*i.e. ashore*]. And that such as were pressed; their names were returned to Chatham, where the King's ships lay: so that he could not discharge them. But he would henceforth forbear to press any of such ships' companies as should be bound for New England.

TUESDAY, 18/28 MARCH 1622/1623.

Sir FERDINANDO GORGES. | Sir HENRY SPELMAN.

Touching the Petition exhibited to the Council, by the

Adventurers of New Plymouth in New England against Master JOHN PEIRCE the Patentee, with whom they are Associates: Master PEIRCE and the Associates met, and made several Propositions, each to the other; but agreed not.

Whereupon they were appointed to give meeting each to other; and then to certify the Council what they concluded on: that then such further course might be taken as should be meet.

Upon reading of a letter written from the Mayor and Aldermen of Norwich to the Council, touching their detaining of certain barrels of meal from the Adventurers of New Plymouth: it appeareth that one ROUNCE of Norwich, Agent for the Adventurers, had misinformed the Council therein.

Whereupon it was ordered, That ROUNCE should be spoken with, touching his wrong information. And it is thought fit, That henceforth no Information be taken but upon oath.

TUESDAY, 25 MARCH /4 APRIL 1623.

Sir FERDINANDO GORGES.	Master JOHN PEIRCE and his Associates [*i.e. the Adventurers*].
Sir SAMUEL ARGALL.	
Sir HENRY SPELMAN.	

After a long dispute of the differences between Master JOHN PEIRCE and his Associates,

It appeared that Master JOHN PEIRCE obtained from the Council [for New England] an Indenture, purporting a Grant of certain lands in New England for settling of a Plantation there, dated the first day of June 1621.*

It further appeared that, upon the 20th day of April 1622, Master JOHN PEIRCE granted Letters of Association unto the said Adventurers; whereby he made them jointly interested with him, in the lands granted by the abovesaid Indenture.

Moreover it appeared that, upon the said 20th day of April 1622, *after* the said Master PEIRCE had interested the said Adventurers in the lands passed unto him by the said Indenture, that he yielded and surrendered up [to the Council for New England] the said Indenture, and received up the Counter-part thereof.

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* This *Patent* is now preserved in the Pilgrim Hall at Plymouth, Massachusets.—E. A.

And [that he] took [from the same Council] a Patent or Deed Poll [*a legal deed, not indented; executed by one party, and therefore consisting of only* one *document*] of the said lands to himself, his heirs, associates, and assigns for ever; bearing dated the said 20th of April 1622.* With which Surrender and New Grant, the Adventurers affirmed, that they were not privy unto: and therefore conceived themselves deceived by Master PEIRCE; which was the cause of their Complaint.

At length, by the mutual consent of Master PEIRCE and of the said Adventurers, it was ordered as followeth:

Whereas there were several differences between JOHN PEIRCE, Citizen and Clothworker of London, and [JAMES SHIRLEY] the Treasurer and others the Associates of him the said JOHN PEIRCE, that were Undertakers with him for [the] settling and advancement of the Plantation at Plymouth in the parts of New England; All which, after the full hearing and debating thereof before us, were finally concluded upon, by the offer of the said JOHN PEIRCE; and the mutual acception [*acceptation*] of the said Treasurer and Company then present, in the behalf of themselves and the rest of the said Company:

> That the said Associates with their Undertakers and servants now settled, or to be settled, in Plymouth aforesaid, should remain and continue tenants unto the Council established for the managing of the foresaid Affairs of New England: notwithstanding a Grant, bearing date the 20th of April 1622, by the said PEIRCE obtained, without the consent of the said Associates, from the said Council; contrary to a former Grant to the said PEIRCE, made in the behalf of himself and his said Associates, dated the first of June 1621. And so the said Associates are left free

* On the same day, he received the new *Patent*, under which it was believed that he intended to hold the settlers as his tenants; and control the destinies of the Colony. He actually set sail for New England, armed with this *Patent*; and was only prevented by providential storms, which twice drove him back, from consummating his ingenious scheme. The Adventurers remonstrated with him in vain: and he demanded £500 in consideration of the surrender of his Grant.—The Hon. W. T. DAVIES, *Ancient Landmarks of Plymouth*, pp. 44, 45. Ed. 1883, 8.

to hold the privileges by the said former Grant of the first of June ; as if the latter had never been : and they, the said Associates, to receive and enjoy all that they do, or may, possess by virtue thereof.

And the surplus that is to remain over and above, by reason of the latter Grant ; the said PEIRCE to enjoy, and to make the best benefit of, as to him shall seem good.

For performance whereof, both parties have submitted themselves to the authority and pleasure of the said Council, to pass unto them new Grants for either of their Interests ; and final determination of all the differences between them : agreeable [to] and upon such conditions as are usual, or as in equity the Council shall think fit.

Master [JAMES] SHIRLEY, Treasurer to the said Adventurers of New Plymouth, propoundeth, in the behalf of the said Adventurers, that they may have a *Patent* for so much as is granted to them in the former Indenture made to Master PEIRCE, dated the first of June 1621.

MONDAY, 5/15 MAY 1623.

Master Treasurer. | Sir SAMUEL ARGALL.
Sir FERDINANDO GORGES. |

Touching the differences between Master [STEPHEN] HOPKINS and Master PEIRCE :

Master HOPKINS allegeth that he hath paid to Master PEIRCE, for transportation of himself and two persons more ; and likewise for his goods.

Which Master PEIRCE acknowledgeth : but allegeth that, by reason of his unfortunate return, the rest of the passengers that went upon the like conditions, had been contented to allow 40s. a person towards his loss ; and therefore desireth that Master HOPKINS may do the like. Which Master HOPKINS, at length, agreed unto ; so as Master PEIRCE and his Associates will accept £6, for three passengers, out of [the] £20 his Adventure which he hath in their Joint Stock.

And therefore they both pray that the Council will be pleased to write to the Associates [*the Adventurers in London*], to accept thereof.

Which they are pleased to do.

A letter was, this day, written and signed *prout supra.*

CHAPTER XXVII.

The Reasons that moved most of the Pilgrim Church to migrate to America. 1617.

GOVERNOR WINSLOW's account of the more public motives, is as follows:

I persuade myself, never people upon earth lived more lovingly, and parted more sweetly than we, the Church at Leyden, did. Not rashly, in a distracted humour; but, upon joint and serious deliberation, often seeking the mind of GOD by fasting and prayer: whose gracious presence we not only found with us; but his blessing upon us from that time to this instant [1646]: to the indignation of our adversaries, the admiration of strangers, and the exceeding consolation of ourselves, to see such effects of our prayers and tears before our pilgrimage here be ended. And therefore briefly take notice of the true cause of it:

'Tis true that that poor persecuted Flock of CHRIST, by the malice and power of the late Hierarchy [*Bishops were abolished in England on 1st September* 1642], were driven to Leyden in Holland, there to bear witness, in their practice, to the Kingly Office of JESUS CHRIST in his Church: and there lived together ten years [*the exact time of the unbroken Church at Leyden was from April* 1609 *to July* 1622, *O.S.*] under the United States [*i.e. the States General*], with much peace and liberty.

But our Reverend Pastor, Master JOHN ROBINSON of late memory; and our grave Elder, Master WILLIAM BREWSTER, now [1646] both at rest with the LORD; considering, amongst many other inconveniences,

How hard the country was, where we lived.

How many spent their estate [*i.e. all their means*] in it; and were forced to return for England.

How grievous [it was] to live from under the protection of the State of England.

How like[ly] we were to lose our language, and our name, of English.

How little good we did, or were like[ly] to do, to the Dutch; in reforming the Sabbath.

How unable there, to give such education to our children as we ourselves had received.

&c. &c. &c.

They, I say, out of their Christian care of the Flock of CHRIST committed to them, conceived, If GOD would be pleased to discover some place unto us, though in America; and give us so much favour with the King and State of England as to have their protection there, where we might enjoy the like liberty; and where, the LORD favouring our endeavours by his blessing, we might exemplarily shew our tender [*loving*] countrymen, by our example, [they being] no less burdened than ourselves, where they might live and comfortably subsist; and enjoy the like liberties with ourselves, being freed from antichristian bondage; keep their names and nation; and not only be a means to enlarge the dominions of our State, but [of] the Church of CHRIST also, if the LORD have a people amongst the natives whither he would bring us; *&c.*

Hereby, in their grave wisdoms, they thought we

might more glorify GOD, do more good to our country, better provide for our posterity, and live to be more refreshed by our labours; than ever we could do in Holland where we were. *Hypocrisy unmasked &c.*, pp. 88, 89, Ed. 1646, 4.

Governor BRADFORD tells us more fully as to the private motives for the migration:

After they had lived in this city [*Leyden*] some eleven or twelve years—which is the more observable, being the whole time of the famous Truce between that State [*Holland*] and the Spaniards [*This is not quite exact. The Ten Years' Truce was from 9th April* 1609 *to 8th April* 1619]—and sundry of them were taken away by death; and many others began to be well stricken in years: the grave mistress, Experience, having taught them many things; those prudent Governors [*ROBINSON and BREWSTER*], with sundry of the sagest members, began both deeply to apprehend their present dangers; and wisely to foresee the future, and think of timely remedy.

In the agitation of their thoughts, and much discourse of things hereabout, at length they began to incline to this conclusion—of removal to some other place. Not out of any newfangledness, or other such like giddy humour; by which men are oftentimes transported to their great hurt and danger: but for sundry weighty and solid reasons; some of the chief of which, I will here briefly touch:

> And first, they saw, and found by experience, the hardness of the place [*Leyden*] and country *Holland*] to be such as few, in comparison, would come to them; and fewer that would bide it out, and continue with them. For many that came to

them, and many more that desired to be with them, could not endure that great labour and hard fare; with other inconveniences, which they underwent, and were contented with. But though they loved their persons, approved their Cause, and honoured their sufferings: yet they left them, as it were weeping, as ORPAH did her mother in law NAOMI [Ruth i. 14]; or as those Romans did CATO in Utica, who desired to be excused and borne with, though they could not all be CATOES. For many, though they desired to enjoy the Ordinances of GOD in their purity and the liberty of the Gospel with them; yet, alas, they admitted of bondage with danger of conscience, rather than to indure these hardships. Yea, some preferred and chose the prisons in England; rather than this liberty in Holland, with these afflictions. But it was thought that if a better and easier place of living could be had, it would draw many; and take away these discouragements. Yea, their Pastor would often say, That many of those [that] both wrote and preached now against them; if they were in a place where they might have liberty and live comfortably, they would then practice as they did.

Secondly. They saw that though the people generally bore all these difficulties very cheerfully and with a resolute courage, being in the best and strength of their years; yet old age began to steal on many of them, and their great and continual labours with other crosses and sorrows hastened it before the time: so as it was not only probably thought, but apparently seen, that, within a few

years more, they would be in danger to scatter, by necessities pressing them; or sink under their burdens; or both. And therefore according to the divine proverb, that "a wise man seeth the plague when it cometh, and hideth himself," Prov. xxii. 3 [Geneva Version]; so they, like skillful and beaten [*veteran or weatherbeaten*] soldiers, were fearful either to be intrapped or surrounded by their enemies, so as they should neither be able to fight, nor fly. And therefore [they] thought it better to dislodge betimes to some place of better advantage, and less danger; if any such could be found.

Thirdly. As necessity was a taskmaster over them, so they were forced to be such not only to their servants; but, in a sort, to their dearest children: the which, as it did not a little wound the tender parts of many a loving father and mother, so it produced likewise sundry sad and sorrowful effects. For many of their children (that were of best dispositions and gracious inclinations; having learnt to bear the yoke in their youth, and [being] willing to bear part of their parents' burden) were, often times, so oppressed with their heavy labours that, though their minds were free and willing; yet their bodies bowed under the weight of the same, and became decrepid in their early youth; the vigour of Nature being consumed in the very bud as it were. But that which was more lamentable, and of all sorrows most heavy to be borne, was that many of their children (by these occasions; and the great licentiousness of youth in that country, and the manifold temptations of the place) were drawn away by evil examples

into extravagant and dangerous courses; getting the reins off their necks, and departing from their parents. Some became soldiers. Others took upon them far voyages by sea: and other some, worse courses, tending to dissoluteness and the danger of their souls; to the great grief of their parents, and dishonour of GOD. So that they saw their posterity would be in danger to degenerate and be corrupted.

Lastly, and which was not least, a great hope and inward zeal they had of laying some good foundation, or at least to make some way thereunto, for the propagating and advancing the Gospel of the Kingdom of CHRIST in those remote parts of the world: yea, though they should be but even as stepping stones unto others, for the performing of so great a work.

The place they had thoughts on was some of those vast and unpeopled countries of America, which are fruitful and fit for habitation: being devoid of all civil [*civilised*] inhabitants; where there are only savage and brutish men, which range up and down little otherwise than the wild beasts of the same.

These, and some other like, reasons moved them to undertake this resolution of their Removal: the which they afterwards prosecuted with so great difficulties, as by the sequel will appear. *Bradford MS.*, folios 47-51.

THE DISCUSSION THAT FOLLOWED.

GOVERNOR WINSLOW is here very brief:—

Now these their private thoughts, upon mature deliberation, they [*i.e. the Pastor and the Ruling Elder*] imparted to the brethren of the Congregation; which, after much private discussion, came to public agitation, till, at the length, the LORD was solemnly sought in the Congregation, by fasting and prayer, to direct us. Who moving our hearts more and more to the work; we sent [1617] some of good abilities [*i.e. ROBERT CUSHMAN and JOHN CARVER*] over into England, to see what favour or acceptance such a thing might find with the King. *Hypocrisy unmasked &c.*, page 89, Ed. 1646, 4.

Governor BRADFORD is much fuller on this point.

This Proposition being made public and coming to the scanning of all, it raised many variable opinions amongst men, and caused many fears and doubts amongst themselves.

Some, from their reasons and hopes conceived, laboured to stir up and incourage the rest to undertake and prosecute the same.

Others again, out of their fears, objected against it and sought to divert from it: alledging many things, and those neither unreasonable, nor unprobable, as

That it was a great design and subject to many unconceivable perils and dangers, &c. Besides the casualties of the seas, which none can be freed from; the length of the voyage was such as the weak bodies of women, and other persons worn out with age and travail [*labour*], as many of them were, could never be able to endure. And yet if they should, the miseries of the

land, which they should be exposed unto, would be too hard to be borne; and likely some, or all of them together, to consume and utterly to ruinate them. For there they should be liable to famine, and nakedness, and the want (in a manner) of all things. The change of air, diet, and drinking of water would infect their bodies with sore sicknesses and grievous diseases.

And also those which should escape, or overcome, these difficulties, should yet be in continual danger of the savage people. Who are cruel, barbarous, and most treacherous; being most furious in their rage, and merciless where they overcome: not being content only to kill and take away life; but delight to torment men in the most bloody manner that may be—flaying some alive with the shells of fishes: cutting off the members [*limbs*] and joints of others by piecemeal; and, broiling [them] on the coals, eat the collops of their [*the victims'*] flesh in their sight, whilst they live: with other cruelties horrible to be related. And surely it could not be thought but the very hearing of these things could not but move the very bowels of men to grate [*weep*] within them; and make the weak to quake and tremble.

It was further objected, That it would require greater sums of money to furnish such a voyage [*expedition*], and to fit them with necessaries, than their consumed estates would amount to: and yet they must as well look to be seconded with Supplies [*reinforcements*], as presently to be transported [*conveyed over the sea to America*].

Also many presidents [*precedents*], of ill success and lamentable miseries [that had] befallen others in the like designs, were easy to be found; and not forgotten to be alledged. Besides their own experience in their former troubles and hardships in their removal into

Holland: and how hard a thing it was for them to live in that strange place, though it was a neighbour [*neighbouring*] country, and a civil [*civilized*] and rich Common Wealth.

It was answered, That all great and honourable actions are accompanied with great difficulties; and must be both enterprised and overcome with answerable courages. It was granted the dangers were great, but not desperate; the difficulties were many, but not invincible. For though there were many of them likely; yet they were not certain. It might be [that] sundry of the things feared might never befall; others, by provident care and the use of good means, might in a great measure be prevented: and all of them, through the help of GOD, by fortitude and patience, might either be borne, or overcome.

True it was, That such attempts were not to be made and undertaken without good ground and reason; not rashly, or lightly, as many have done for curiosity, or hope of gain, &c. But their condition was not ordinary. Their ends were good and honourable; their Calling lawful and urgent: and therefore they might expect the blessing of GOD in their proceeding. Yea, though they should lose their lives in this action: yet might they have comfort in the same; and their endeavours would be honourable.

They lived here [*in Leyden*] but as men in exile, and in a poor condition: and as great miseries might possibly befall them in this place. For the twelve [*or rather, ten*] years of Truce were now out: and there was nothing but beating of drums and preparing for war; the events whereof are always uncertain. The Spaniard might prove as cruel as the savages of America; and the famine and [the] pestilence as sore

here as there; and their liberty less to look out for remedy.

After many other particular things answered and alledged on both sides; it was fully concluded by the major part [*majority*], to put this design in execution; and to prosecute it by the best means they could. *Bradford MS.*, folios 51-55.

THE MEANS THEY USED FOR PREPARATION TO THIS WEIGHTY VOYAGE [*EXPEDITION*]. 1617.

AND first, after their humble prayers unto GOD for his direction and assistance, and a general conference held hereabout; they consulted what particular place to pitch upon and prepare for.

Some, and none of the meanest, had thoughts, and were earnest for Guiana, or some of those fertile places in those hot climates. Others were for some parts of Virginia, where the English had already made entrance and beginning.

Those for Guiana alledged that the country was rich, fruitful, and blessed with a perpetual Spring and a flourishing greenness; where vigorous Nature brought forth all things in abundance and plenty, without any great labour or art of Man: so it must needs make the inhabitants rich, seeing less provisions of clothing and other things would serve, than in more cold and less fruitful countries must be had. As also that the Spaniards, having much more than they could possess, had not yet planted there, nor anywhere very near the same.

But to this it was answered, That, out of question, the country was both fruitful and pleasant; and might yield riches and maintenance to the possessors, more easily than the others: yet other things considered, it would not be so fit for them. And first, That such hot countries are subject to grievous diseases and many noisome impediments, which other more temperate places are freer from; and would not so well agree with our English bodies. Again, if they should there live and do well, the jealous Spaniard would never suffer them long: but would displant, or overthrow, them, as he did the French in Florida [*in* 1565], who were seated further from his richest countries; and [this] the sooner, because they should have none to protect them; and their own strength would be too small to resist so potent an enemy and so near a neighbour.

On the other hand, for Virginia, it was objected, That if they lived among the English which were there planted, or so near them as to be under their government; they should be in as great danger to be troubled and persecuted for their Cause of Religion, as if they lived in England: and, it might be, worse [troubled]. And if they lived too far off; they should neither have succour, nor defence from them.

But, at length, the conclusion was, to live as a distinct body by themselves, under the general government of Virginia; and by their friends to sue to His Majesty that he would be pleased to grant them Freedom of Religion: and that this might be obtained, they were put in good hope by some Great Persons of good rank and quality, that were made their friends. *Bradford MS.*, folio 55.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

Members of the Pilgrim Church who did not emigrate to America.

GOVERNOR WINSLOW tells us, at page 328, that there were "a very few who had rather we would have stayed [in Holland]." Here are some of the names of these "very few:"

H. C. M. [the Hon. Henry C. Murphy], in the *Historical Magazine*, Vol. III., pp. 358, 359, Boston and New York, 1859, 4, writes:

"We have already given the different trades pursued by those of Robinson's Congregation, who were married at Leyden; and emigrated in the first four ships.

"We now furnish, from the same source, a List of some of them who did not embark in the *Mayflower*, the *Fortune*, the *Ann*, or the *Little James*. Sometimes the particular city is named; at others, only the country from whence they came."

Zachariah Berry, from England.

William Buckram, from Ipswich, Block Maker.

Samuel Butler, from Yarmouth, Merchant.

Stephen Butterfield, from England, Silk Worker.

Alexander Carpenter.

"Father of Governor Bradford's second wife, and of George Morton's wife."

Roger Chandler, from Colchester, Silk Worker.

Anthony Clemens.

John Codmore, from England, Ribbon Weaver.

HENRY CULLENS, from England, Bombazine Worker.
"He lived at Amsterdam."

JOHN ELLIS.

DANIEL FAIRFIELD, from Colchester, Silk Worker.

SAMUEL FERRIER, from Caen, Normandy; Silk Worker.

"This is an instance of the admission of a Frenchman into the Congregation. We gather this from the fact that he married MILDRETH CHARLES, Maid, from England, on the 16th May 1614: having, on that occasion, two of the Congregation, namely ROGER WILSON and SAMUEL FULLER, as witnesses."

JOHN GILLIES, from Essex, Merchant.
ABRAHAM GRAY.
THOMAS HATFIELD, from England, Wool Carder.
WILLIAM HOYT.
JOHN JENNINGS, from Colchester, Fustian Worker.
EDMUND JEPSON, from England, Bombazine Worker.
HENRY JEPSON, from England, Silk Worker.
WILLIAM JEPSON.
JOHN KEBLE.
SAMUEL LEE, from England, Hatter.
ISAAC MARCUS.
HENRY MARSHALL.
ROBERT NELSON, from England, Baize Worker.
ISRAEL NES.
WILLIAM PANTES, from Dover, Fustian Worker.
JOSEPH PARSONS, from Colchester, Silk Worker.
EDWARD PICKERING, from London, Merchant.
JOHN REYNOLDS, from London, Printer.
"He lived at Amsterdam."

JOHN ROBINSON, from England, Minister.
ROGER SIMONS, from Sarum [*Salisbury*], Mason.
ROBERT SMITH.

THOMAS SMITH, from Bury [St Edmunds], Wool Carder.

"He married ANNA CRACKSTON; daughter of JOHN CRACKSTON, one of the company of the *Mayflower*."

EDWARD SOUTHWORTH, from England, Silk Worker.

"First husband of Governor BRADFORD's second Wife."

THOMAS SOUTHWORTH.

"Brother of EDWARD."

JOHN SPOONARD, from England, Ribbon Weaver.

"JOHN CARVER attended as a witness to his marriage, 9th December 1616."

WILLIAM TALBOT.

RAYNULF [= *RALPH*] TICKENS.

"Brother-in-law of ROBINSON."

ROBERT WARRENER, from England, Wool Carder.

ROGER WHITE.

"Brother of Mistress ROBINSON."

ROGER WILKINS, from England, Wool Carder.

JONATHAN WILLIAMS.

THOMAS WILLIAMS.

HENRY WILSON, from Yarmouth, Pump Maker.

"JOHN CARVER attended as witness to his marriage, on the 16th May 1616."

ROGER WILSON, from England, Silk Worker.

HENRY WOOD.

"These Lists might be much extended; but we have confined ourselves to such as most distinctly appear to have been connected with ROBINSON's Congregation prior to the sailing of the first four ships. A close scrutiny would, we doubt not, double the number.

"An interesting question presents itself, as to what became of these numerous families.

"At first, the Congregation at Leyden consisted, as we have seen, of about one hundred persons, men and women.

"Subsequent accessions, from England and other sources, increased the number to about three hundred souls, in 1620; of whom it is said not more than one half went to America.

"After the death of ROBINSON, in 1625; there does not appear to have been any Minister among them. Some of his flock, like his own children, became absorbed in the Dutch population; though there is not at this day [1 *August* 1859], more than three names of families, in Leyden, bearing any resemblance to those above given."

CHAPTER XXIX.

Francis Blackwell leads the remnant of the Rev. Francis Johnson's Church towards Virginia. 1618—1619.

GOVERNOR BRADFORD thus writes:

A word or two, by way of digression, touching this Master Blackwell. He was an Elder of the Church at Amsterdam: a man well known of most of them. He declined from the truth [*i.e. the true theory of a Church*], with Master Johnson and the rest: and went with him, when they parted asunder [on 15/25 December 1610] in that woeful manner; which brought so great dishonour to GOD, scandal to the truth, and outward ruin to themselves in this world. But I hope, notwithstanding, through the mercies of the Lord, their souls are now at rest with him in the heavens; and that they are arrived in the haven of happiness: though some of their bodies were thus buried in the terrible seas, and others sunk under the burden of bitter afflictions.

He, with some others, had prepared for to go to Virginia.

And he, with sundry godly citizens, being at a private meeting (I take it, a Fast) in London: being discovered, many of them were apprehended; whereof Master Blackwell was one.

But he so glossed with [*cajoled*] the Bishops; and either dissembled, or flatly denied, the truth [*i.e. the Principles of the Separation*], which formerly he had maintained: and not only so, but very unworthily betrayed, and accused another godly man, who had escaped, that so he might slip his own

neck out of the collar; and, to obtain his own freedom, brought others into bonds. Whereupon, he so won the Bishops' favour, but lost the LORD's, as he was not only dismissed: but, in open court, the Archbishop [GEORGE ABBOT] gave him great applause; and his solemn blessing to proceed in his voyage. But if such events follow the Bishops' blessings; happy are they that miss the same! It is much better to keep a good conscience, and have the LORD's blessing, whether in life or death.

But see how the man, thus apprehended by Master BLACKWELL's means, writes to a friend of his.

Right dear friend and Christian brother, Master CARVER. I salute you and yours in the LORD, &c. As for my own present condition; I doubt not but you well understand it ere this, by our brother MAISTERSONE: who should have tasted of the same cup, had his place of residence and his person been as well known as myself.

Somewhat I have written to Master CUSHMAN, how the matter still continues. I have petitioned twice to [the] Master Sheriffs, and once to my Lord COOKE: and have used such reasons to move them to pity that, if they were not overruled by some others, I suppose I should soon gain my liberty. As that, I was a young man, living by my credit, indebted to divers in our city, living at more than ordinary charges in a close and tedious prison, besides great rents abroad, all my business lying still; my only servant lying lame in the country, my wife being also great with child.

And yet no answer till the Lords of His Majesty's [Privy] Council gave [*have given*] consent.

Howbeit, Master BLACKWELL, a man as deep in this action as I, was delivered at a cheaper rate; with a great deal less ado: yea, with an addition of the Archbishop's blessing.

I am sorry for Master BLACKWELL's weakness, I wish it may prove no worse. But yet he and some others of them, before their going [*i.e. to Virginia; and therefore they left before the 4th September* 1618, *the date of this letter*], were not sorry; but thought it was for the best that I was nominated [*denounced*]: not because the LORD sanctifies evil, to good; but that the action was good, yea, for the best.

One reason, I well remember, he [*Francis Blackwell*] used was, because this trouble would increase the Virginia Plantation; in that now people began to be more generally inclined to go: and if he had not nominated [*accused*] some such as I, he had not been free; because it was [*it being*] known that divers citizens, besides themselves, were there.

I expect an answer shortly what they intend concerning me. I purpose to write to some others of you; by whom you shall know the certainty.

Thus, not having further at present to acquaint you withal, commending myself to your prayers, I cease: and commit you, and us all, to the Lord.

Your friend and brother in bonds,

Sabine Staresmore.

From my Chamber in Wood street Counter,
September 4th, *anno* 1618.

But [of] thus much by the way; which may be of instruction and good use. *Bradford MS.*, folios 69-71.

When to the above, we add what Robert Cushman tells us respecting Blackwell, at page 290, of "a stratagem he once made for Master Johnson and his people at Emden; which was their subversion [*utter ruin*]": it is hard to say which of his Elders were the more consummate rascal, Francis Blackwell, or Daniel Studley. "By their fruits, ye shall know them."

CHAPTER XXX.

The Negotiations with the London Virginia Company. 1617—1619.
The Seven Articles. 1617.

THE first step that was taken was to draw up the following Declaration of Faith and Church Polity: in which the Pilgrim Fathers strove, in order to conciliate the King and his Government, to minimize to the uttermost their differences from the Church of England as it then existed.

The following document in the Public Record Office, London, is a copy only; and its real date is before November 1617:

> Seven Articles which the Church of Leyden sent to the [Privy] Council of England to be considered of, in respect of their Judgements: occasioned about their going to Virginia, *anno* 1618.

1. To the Confession of Faith [*The* 39 *Articles of Religion* of 1562] published in the name of the Church of England, and to every *Article* thereof; we do (with the Reformed Churches where we live, and also elsewhere) assent wholly.

2. As we do acknowledge the Doctrine of Faith there taught; so do we, the fruits and effects of the same Doctrine, to the begetting of saving faith in thousands in the land [of England], Conformists and Reformists, as they are called: with whom also, as with our brethren, we do desire to keep spiritual

communion in peace; and will practice in our parts all lawful things.

3. The King's Majesty we acknowledge for Supreme Governor in his Dominions in all causes, and over all persons: and that none may decline or appeal from his authority or judgement in any cause whatsoever: but that in all things obedience is due unto him; either active, if the thing commanded be not against GOD's Word; or passive, if it be, except pardon can be obtained.

4. We judge it lawful [*morally right*] for His Majesty to appoint Bishops [to be] Civil Overseers or Officers in authority under him in the several Provinces, Dioceses, Congregations, or Parishes, to oversee the Churches, and govern them civilly [*secularly*] according to the laws of the land: unto whom, they are, in all things, to give an account; and by them, to be ordered according to godliness.

5. The authority of the present Bishops in the land [of England], we do acknowledge so far forth as the same is indeed derived from His Majesty unto them; and as they proceed in his name: whom we will also therein honour in all things; and him, in them.

6. We believe that no Synod, Classes, Convocation, or Assembly of Ecclesiastical Officers hath any power or authority at all but as the same [is] by the Magistrate given unto them.

7. Lastly, we desire to give unto all Superiors due honour, to preserve the unity of the Spirit with all that fear GOD, to have peace with all men what in us lieth, and wherein we err to be instructed by any.

Subscribed per JOHN ROBINSON and WILLIAM BREWSTER.

S. P., *Colonial*, Vol. I. No. 43.

The above extremely able Paper gave rise to a short controversy in print at the time.

The Rev. THOMAS DRAKES [or DRAX as his name is spelt in R. NEWCOURT'S *Repertorium*, II., p. 220, Ed. 1710, fol.] was the Vicar of Harwich and Dovercourt; and died before 18 March 1618.

Very soon then after the presentation of the above *Seven Articles*, he published a reply to them entitled, "*Ten Counter Demands* propounded to the Separatists against their *Seven Demands*": which Work is now apparently totally lost.

To it, there appeared from the Pilgrim Press at Leyden, the following reply.

WILLIAM EURING, "An Answer to the *Ten Counter Demands* propounded by T. DRAKES, Preacher of the Word at H. and D., in the county of Essex."

Printed in the year 1619, 8.

Of this *Answer*, only one copy is at present known to exist; and that is in Doctor Williams' Library, Gordon square, London, W.C. Press-mark, 12—30—22.

The above *Seven Articles* have been reprinted by Mr GEORGE BANCROFT, in 2 *New York Historical Society's Publications*, iii., 1856, 8.

Governor WINSLOW's summary account of these negotiations is as follows:

These [Agents, *i.e.*, *ROBERT CUSHMAN and JOHN CARVER*] also found GOD going along with them; and got Sir EDWIN SANDYS, a religious gentleman then living, to stir in it. Who procured Sir ROBERT NAUNTON, then Principal Secretary of State to King JAMES of famous memory, to move His Majesty, by

a private motion, to give way to such a people, who could not so comfortably live under the government of another State, to enjoy their liberty of conscience under his gracious protection in America: where they would endeavour the advancement of His Majesty's dominions, and the enlargement of the Gospel, by all due means.

This, His Majesty said, was a good and honest motion: and asking, What profits might arise in the part we intended? for our eye was upon the most northern parts of Virginia; it was answered "Fishing."

To which he replied, with his ordinary asseveration, "So GOD have my soul! 'tis an honest trade! It was the Apostles' own calling! &c."

But afterwards he told Sir ROBERT NAUNTON, who took all occasions to further it, that we should confer with the Bishops of CANTERBURY [GEORGE ABBOT] and LONDON [JOHN KING], &c.

Whereupon we were advised to persist upon his first approbation; and not to entangle ourselves with them. Which caused our Agents to repair to the [First, or London] Virginia Company: who, in their Court [*or Committee Meeting* in February 1619], demanded our ends of going. Which being related; they said, The thing was of GOD, and granted a large *Patent.* And one of them lent us £300 gratis, for three years: which was repaid. *Hypocrisy unmasked &c.*, pp. 89, 90, Ed. 1646, 4.

Governor BRADFORD's account is much more detailed.

Whereupon two were chosen, and sent into England at the charge of the rest, to solicit this matter. Who found the Virginia Company very desirous to have them go thither: and willing to grant them a *Patent* with as ample priviledges as they had, or could grant to any; and to give them the best furtherance they could.

And here it will be requisite to insert a letter or two that may give light to these proceedings.

A copy of a Letter from Sir EDWIN SANDYS,* directed to Master JOHN ROBINSON and Master WILLIAM BREWSTER.
[London; Wednesday, 12/22 November 1617.]

After my hearty salutations. The Agents of your Congregation, ROBERT CUSHMAN and JOHN CARVER, have been in communication with divers select [*specially deputed*] Gentlemen of His Majesty's Council for Virginia: and by the Writing of [*The*] *Seven Articles*, subscribed with your names, have given them that good degree of satisfaction, which hath carried them on with a resolution to set forward your desire in the best sort that may be, for your own, and the public, good.

Divers particulars [have to be considered], whereof we leave to their faithful report: [they] having carried themselves here with that good discretion as is both to their own [credit], and their credit from whence they came.

And whereas, being to treat for a multitude of people, they have requested further time, to confer with them that are to be interessed [*interested*] in this action, about the several particularities [*points*] which, in the prosecution thereof, will fall out considerable: it hath been willingly assented to. And so, they do now return unto you.

If therefore, it may please GOD, so to direct your desires as that, on your parts, there fall out no just impediments; I trust, by the same direction, it shall likewise appear that, on our parts,

* The Pilgrims first acted upon WILLIAM BREWSTER's acquaintanc with the SANDYS family; which has been described at page 65.

all forwardness to set you forward shall be found, in the best sort, which with reason may be expected.

And so, I betake [*commit*] you, with this design (which I hope verily is the work of GOD), to the gracious protection and blessing of the Highest.

Your very loving friend,

EDWIN SANDYS.

London, November 12th
anno 1617.

Their answer was as followeth:

[Leyden; Monday, 15/25 December 1617.]

Right Worshipful,

Our humble duties remembered, in our own, our Messengers', and our Church's name: with all thankful acknowledgement of your singular love expressing itself as otherwise, so more specially in your great care and earnest endeavour of our good in this weighty business about Virginia. Which, the less able we are to requite, we shall think ourselves the more bound to commend in our prayers unto GOD for recompence. Whom, as for the present, you rightly behold in our indeavours: so shall we not be wanting on our parts, the same GOD assisting us, to return all answerable fruit and respect unto the labour of your love bestowed upon us.

We have (with the best speed, and consideration withal, that we could) set down our Requests in writing, subscribed, as you willed, with the hands [*signatures*] of the greatest part of our Congregation; and have sent the same unto the Council [for Virginia] by our Agent and a Deacon of our Church, JOHN CARVER; unto whom we have also requested [ROBERT CUSHMAN] a Gentleman of our Company to adjoin himself: to the care and discretion of which two, we do refer the prosecuting of the business.

Now we persuade ourselves, Right Worshipful, that we need not provoke your godly and loving mind to any further, or more tender, care of us; since you have pleased so far to interest us in yourself that, under GOD, above all persons and things in the world, we rely upon you: expecting the care of your love, counsel of your wisdom, and the help and countenance of your authority.

Nothwithstanding, for your encouragement in the work, so far as probabilities may lead; we will not forbear to mention these instances of Inducement:

First. We verily believe and trust the LORD is with us ; unto whom, and whose service, we have given ourselves in many trials : and that he will graciously prosper our indeavour, according to the simplicity [*pure-mindedness*] of our hearts therein.

Secondly. We are well weaned from the delicate milk of our mother country: and [are] inured to the difficulties of a strange and hard land [*Holland*] : which yet, in great part, we have, by patience, overcome.

Thirdly. The people are, for the body of them, industrious and frugal, we think we may safely say, as any company [*society*] of people in the world.

Fourthly. We are knit together, as a body, in a most strict and sacred Bond and Covenant of the LORD ; of the violation whereof we make great conscience : and by virtue whereof, we do hold ourselves straitly tied to all care of each other's good, and of the whole, by every one ; and so mutually.

Lastly. It is not with us as with other men whom small things can discourage, or small discontentments cause to wish themselves at home again. We know our entertainment in England, and in Holland. We shall much prejudice both our arts [*trades*] and means by removal. If we should be driven to return [from Virginia], we should not hope to recover our present helps and comforts : neither indeed look ever, for ourselves, to attain unto the like in any other place, during our lives ; which are now drawing towards their periods [*ends*].

These Motives we have been bold to tender unto you, which you, in your wisdom, may also impart to any other our worshipful friends of the Council [for Virginia] with you : of all whose godly disposition and loving [? care] towards our despised persons, we are most glad ; and shall not fail by all good means to continue and increase the same.

We will not be further troublesome ; but, with the renewed remembrance of our humble duties to your Worship—and, so far as in modesty we may be bold, to any other of our wellwillers of the Council with you—we take our leaves : committing your persons and counsels to the guidance and direction of the Almighty.

Yours much bounden in all duty,

JOHN ROBINSON,
WILLIAM BREWSTER.

Leyden, December 15th,
anno 1617.

And some of the Chief of that Company doubted not to obtain their suit of the King, for Liberty in Religion; and to have it confirmed under the King's broad seal, according to their desires. But it proved a harder piece of work than they took it for: for though many means were used to bring it about; yet it could not be effected.

For there were divers of good worth [who] laboured with the King to obtain it, amongst whom was Sir ROBERT NAUNTON, one of his chief Secretaries [of State]; and some others wrought with the Archbishop [GEORGE ABBOT] to give way thereunto: but it proved all in vain.

Yet thus far they prevailed, in sounding His Majesty's mind, That he would connive at them, and not molest them; provided they carried themselves peaceably: but to allow, or tolerate, them by his public authority, under his seal; they found it would not be. And this was all, the Chief of the Virginia Company, or any others of their best friends, could do in the case. Yet they persuaded them to go on: for they presumed they [*the Pilgrims*] should not be troubled.

And with this answer, the Messengers returned; and signified what diligence had been used, and to what issue things were come.

But this made a damp in the business; and caused some distraction. For many were afraid that if they should unsettle themselves, and put off their estates [*sell off their properties*], and go upon these hopes; it might prove dangerous, and but a sandy foundation. Yea, it was thought they might better have presumed hereupon, without making any suit at all: than, having made it, to be thus rejected.

But some of the Chiefest thought otherwise, and

that they might well proceed hereupon; and that the King's Majesty was willing enough to suffer them without molestation: though, for other reasons, he would not confirm it by any public act [*deed*]. And furthermore, if there were no security in this promise intimated; there would be no great certainty in a further confirmation of the same. For if, afterwards, there should be a purpose, or desire, to wrong them; though they had a seal as broad as the house floor, it would not serve the turn: for there would be means enew [*enough*] found to recall, or reverse, it. And seeing therefore the course was probable; they must rest herein on GOD's Providence, as they had done in other things.

Upon this resolution, other Messengers [*this time* WILLIAM BREWSTER *and* ROBERT CUSHMAN] were despatched [in 1619], to end with the Virginia Company as well as they could: and to procure a *Patent* with as good and ample conditions as they might by any good means obtain. Also to treat and conclude with such Merchants, and other friends, as had manifested their forwardness to provoke to, and adventure in, this Voyage [*Expedition*]. For which end, they had instructions given them, upon what conditions they should proceed with them; or else to conclude nothing, without further advice.

These things being long in agitation, and Messengers passing too and again about them, after all their hopes, they were long delayed by many rubs that fell in their way.

For at the return of these Messengers into England, they found things far otherwise than they expected. For the Virginia Council was now so disturbed with factions and quarrels amongst themselves, as no business

could well go forward. The which may the better appear in one of the Messengers' letters, as followeth:

[London; Saturday, 8/18 May 1619.]

To his loving friends, *&c.*

I had thought long since to have writ unto you, but could not effect that which I aimed at; neither can yet set things as I wished. Yet notwithstanding, I doubt not but Master B[REWSTER] hath written to Master ROBINSON. But I think myself bound also to do something, lest I be thought to neglect you.

The main hindrance of our proceedings in the Virginia business is the dissensions and factions, as they term it, amongst the Council and Company of Virginia; which are such as that, ever since we came up, no business could by them be despatched.

The occasion of this trouble amongst them is, for that, a while since, Sir THOMAS SMITH, repining at his many Offices and troubles, wished the Company of Virginia to ease him of his Office in being Treasurer and Governor of the Virginia Company.

Whereupon the Company took occasion to dismiss him, and [on 28th April 1619] chose Sir EDWIN SANDYS Treasurer and Governor of the Company: he having 60 voices; Sir JOHN WOLSTENHOLME, 16 voices; and Alderman [Sir ROBERT] JOHNSON, 24 voices. But Sir THOMAS SMITH, when he saw some part of his honour lost, was very angry; and raised a faction to cavil and contend about the election: and sought to tax Sir EDWIN with many things that might both disgrace him, and also put him by his Office of Governor. In which contentions they yet stick; and are not fit, nor ready, to intermeddle in any business: and what issue things will come to, we are not yet certain. It is most like[ly] Sir EDWIN will carry it away [*maintain his election*]: and if he do, things will go well in Virginia; if other wise, they will go ill enough. Always we hope in two or three Courts Days things will settle. Mean space I think to go down into Kent [*CUSHMAN came from Canterbury* *see page* 165]; and [to] come up again [in] about fourteen days, or three weeks, hence: except either by these aforesaid contentions, or by the ill tidings from Virginia, we be wholly discouraged. Of which tidings I am now to speak.

Captain [Sir SAMUEL] ARGALL is come home this week [*2nd-8th May* 1619.] He, upon notice of the intent of the Council, came away before Sir GEORGE YEARDLEY came there: and so there

is no small dissension [here]. But his tidings are ill, though his person be welcome.

He saith, Master [Francis] Blackwell's ship came not there till March [1619]. But going, towards winter [1618 ; *before September 4th*], they had still northwest winds ; which carried them to the southward, beyond their course. And the Master of the ship and some six of the mariners dying ; it seemed they could not find the [Chesapeake] Bay till after long seeking and beating about.

Master Blackwell is dead, and Master Maggner the Captain. Yea, there are dead, he saith, 130 persons, one and [an]other, in that ship. It is said, There were in all 180 persons in the ship ; so as they were packed together like herrings. They had amongst them the flux [*dysentery*], and also want of fresh water : so as it is, here, rather wondered at, that so many are alive, than that so many are dead.

The Merchants here say, It was Master Blackwell's fault to pack so many in the ship. Yea, and there were great mutterings and repinings amongst them, and upbraiding of Master Blackwell for his dealing and disposing of them ; when they saw how he had disposed of them, and how he insulted over them. Yea, the streets at Gravesend rang of their extreme quarrelings, crying out one of another, "Thou has brought me to this!" and "I may thank thee for this!" [Thou-ing *and* thee-ing *were then expressions of scorn.*]

Heavy news it is, and I would be glad to hear how far it will discourage [you at Leyden]. I see none here discouraged much ; but rather desire to learn to beware by other men's harms, and to amend that wherein they have failed.

As we desire to serve one another in love, so [let us] take heed of being inthralled by any imperious person ; especially if they be discerned to have an eye to themselves. It doth often trouble me to think that, in this business, we are all to learn, and none to teach : but better so, than to depend upon such teachers as Master Blackwell was. Such a stratagem he once made for Master [Francis] Johnson and his people at Emden ; which was their subversion. But though he then cleanly, yet unhonestly, plucked his neck out of the collar ; yet, at last, his foot is caught.

Here are no letters come [from Virginia]. The ship Captain [Sir Samuel] Argall came in, is yet in the west parts [of England]. All that we hear is but his report. It seemeth he came away secretly.

The ship that Master BLACKWELL went in will be here shortly. It is, as Master ROBINSON once said, He thought we should hear no good of them [*i.e. the remnant of the Rev.* FRANCIS JOHNSON'S *Church that went from Amsterdam to Virginia*].

Master B[REWSTER] is not well at this time. Whether he will come back to you, or go into the north [of England]; I yet know not. For myself, I hope to see an end of this business ere I come [back]: though I am sorry to be thus from you. If things had gone roundly forward, I should have been with you within these fourteen days. I pray GOD direct us, and give us that spirit which is fitting for such a business.

Thus having summarily pointed at things; which Master BREWSTER, I think, hath more largely writ of to Master ROBINSON: I leave you to the LORDS's protection.

Yours in all readiness, *&c.*,
ROBERT CUSHMAN.

London,
May 8th, *anno* 1619.

But, at last, after all these things, and their long attendance; they had a *Patent* granted them [by the Company, on 9/19 June 1619; see page 253], and confirmed under the Company's seal: but these divisions and distractions had shaken off many of their pretended friends; and disappointed them of their hoped-for and proffered means.

By the advice of some friends, this *Patent* was not taken in the name of any of their own [Company] but in the name of Master JOHN WINCOB [*or rather* WHINCOP *or* WINCOP] a religious Gentleman, then belonging to [the household of ELIZABETH DE CLINTON,] the Countess [Dowager] of LINCOLN: who intended to go with them. But GOD so disposed as he never went; nor they ever made use of this *Patent*, which had cost them so much labour and charge: as by the sequel will appear. *Bradford MS.*, folios 55-71.

Let us see what progress had now been made. In

October—November 1617, the negotiations with the London Virginia Company began; and they, at length, had culminated in the sealing of their first *Patent*, to JOHN WINCOP, upon 9/19 June 1619.

But the Pilgrims wanted more than a *Patent* from the Company: they also wanted free shipping. The Company, however, was practically penniless; and was on its way to the bankruptcy which overtook it in 1624.

So the Pilgrims had to cast about for some means to get across the Atlantic: and, then it was, that, despairing of all help from home, they unwillingly began their negotiations with the Dutch.

CHAPTER XXXI.

The Negotiations with the Privy Council. *The Three Points.* January—February 1618.

GOVERNOR BRADFORD here carries on the

For further light in these proceedings, see some other Letters and Notes, as followeth:

THE COPY OF A LETTER SENT TO SIR JOHN WOSTLEHOLME.
[LEYDEN; TUESDAY, 27 JANUARY /6 FEBRUARY, 1617/1618.]

Right Worshipful. With due acknowledgement of our thankfulness for your singular care and pains in the business of Virginia; for our, and, we hope, the common, good: we do remember our humble duties to you; and have sent inclosed, as is required, a further explanation of our Judgements in *The Three Points* specified by some of His Majesty's honourable Privy Council. And though it be grievous unto us, that such unjust insinuations are made against us; yet we are most glad of the occasion of making our just purgation unto so honourable Personages.

The Declarations we have sent inclosed; the one more brief and general, which we think the fitter to be presented: the other something more large, and in which we express some small accidental differences; which if it seem good unto you and others of our worshipful friends, you may send instead of the former.

Our prayer unto GOD is, that your Worship may see the fruit of your worthy endeavours; which on our parts we shall not fail to further by all good means in us. And so praying that you would please, with the convenientest speed that may be, to give us

knowledge of the success of the business with His Majesty's Privy Council; and accordingly, what your further pleasure is, either for our direction, or furtherance in the same. So we rest.

Your Worship's in all duty,

JOHN ROBINSON,
WILLIAM BREWSTER.

Leyden, January 27th
anno 1617 [—1618], Old Style.

The first brief Note was this:

Touching the Ecclesiastical Ministry, namely, of Pastors for Teaching, Elders for Ruling, and Deacons for distributing the Church's contribution; as also for the two Sacr ments, Baptism and the LORD'S Supper: we do wholly and in all points agree with the French Reformed Churches, according to their public *Confession of Faith.*

The Oath of Supremacy we shall willingly take, if it be required of us; and that convenient satisfaction be not given by our taking the Oath of Allegiance.

JOHN ROBINSON,
WILLIAM BREWSTER.

The second was this:

Touching the Ecclesiastical Ministry &c. . . . . (as in the former) . . . . we agree in all things with the French Reformed Churches, according to their public *Confession of Faith.* Though some small differences be to be found in our practices; not at all in the substance of the things, but only in some accidental circumstances:

As, first, Their Ministers do pray with their heads covered: ours, uncovered.

Secondly. We choose none for Governing Elders but such as are able to teach: which ability they do not require.

Thirdly. Their Elders and Deacons are annual, or at most for two or three years: ours perpetual.

Fourthly. Our Elders do administer their Office, in Admonitions and Excomunications for public scandals, publicly; and before the Congregation: theirs more privately, and in their Consistories.

Fifthly. We do administer Baptism only to such infants as whereof the one parent, at the least, is of some Church: which some of their Churches do not observe; though in it our practice accords with their public *Confession*, and the judgement of the most learned amongst them.

Other differences worthy mentioning, we know [of] none in these Points.

Then about the Oath, as in the former.

Subscribed,

JOHN ROBINSON.
WILLIAM BREWSTER.

Part of another Letter from him that delivered these:

LONDON; [SATURDAY,] FEBRUARY 14/24, 1617 [—1618].

Your Letter to Sir JOHN WOLSTENHOLME, I delivered, almost as soon as I had it, to his own hands; and stayed with him the opening and reading. There were two Papers inclosed.

He read them to himself, as also the Letter: and in the reading he spake to me, and said "Who shall make them?" viz. the Ministers.

I answered his Worship, That the power of making was in the Church, to be ordained by the Imposition of Hands by the fittest Instruments they had. It must either be in the Church, or from the Pope: and the Pope is Antichrist.

"Ho!" said Sir JOHN, "what the Pope holds good, as in the Trinity, that we do well to assent to: but" said he, "we will not enter into dispute now."

As for your Letters, he would not show them at any hand; lest he should spoil all. He expected you should have been of [GEORGE ABBOT] the Archbishop's mind for the Calling of Ministers: but it seems you differed. I could have wished to have known the contents of your two [Papers] inclosed: at which he stuck so much; especially the larger [one].

I asked his Worship, What good news he had for me to write [to Leyden] to-morrow?

He told me, "Very good news: for both the King's Majesty and the Bishops have consented."

He said he would go to Master Chancellor, Sir FULKE GREVILLE, as this day; and next week, I should know more.

I met Sir EDWIN SANDYS on Wednesday night [11th February]. He wished me to be at the Virginia Court the next Wednesday [18th February]; where I purpose to be.

Thus loath to be troublesome at present, I hope to have somewhat, next week, of certain, concerning you. I commit you to the LORD.

Yours,

SABINE STARESMORE.

Bradford MS., folios 63-65.

CHAPTER XXXII.

The Negotiations with the Dutch, 1620.

WE will first give the documents; and afterwards discuss them.

PETITION OF THE DIRECTORS OF THE NEW NETHERLAND COMPANY.
WEDNESDAY, 2/12 FEBRUARY 1619/1620.

To the Prince of Orange, &c.

The Directors of the Company trading to New Netherland, situate in latitude from 40 to 45 degrees, between New France and Virginia, reverently represent

That they, the Petitioners, have, as discoverers and first finders of the said countries, traded thither now several years; in virtue of a certain general *Charter* from the High and Mighty Lords States General, dated the 10th March 1614 [*N.S.*]. That they, also, have delivered to their High Mightinesses their written Report, with a Map, of the situation and usefulness of [the] said countries.

And whereas the Petitioners' *Charter* has expired, so that every one is now at liberty to trade there; they have again sent thither two ships, in order to preserve the reputation of [the] said trade. Some vessels have been likewise sent by other traders, exclusive of the Company.

Now it happens that there is residing at Leyden a certain English Preacher, versed in the Dutch language, who is well inclined to proceed thither to live: assuring the Petitioners that he has the means of inducing over four hundred families to accompany him thither, both out of this country and England. Provided they would be guarded and preserved from all violence on the part of other potentates, by the authority and under the protection of your Princely Excellency and the High and Mighty Lords States General, in the propagation of the true [and] pure Christian religion, in the instruction of the Indians in that country

in true learning, and in converting them to the Christian faith: and thus, through the mercy of the LORD, to the greater glory of this country's government, to plant there a new Commonwealth; all under the order and command of your Princely Excellency and the High and Mighty Lords States General.

And whereas they, the Petitioners, have experienced that His Majesty of Great Britain would be disposed to people the aforesaid lands with the English Nation; and by force to render fruitless their possession and discovery, and thus deprive this State of its right; and apparently with ease surprise the ships of this country which are there, and are ordered to remain there the whole year: wherefore they, the Petitioners, pray and request that your Princely Excellency may benignly please to take all the aforesaid into favourable consideration, so that, for the preservation of this country's rights, the aforesaid Minister and the four hundred families may be taken under the protection of this country; and that two ships of war may be provisionally despatched to secure to the State the aforesaid countries; inasmuch as they would be of much importance, whenever the West India Company is established, in respect to the large abundance of timber fit for shipbuilding, &c., as may be seen by the accompanying Report. On all which

(Endorsed) Petition of the Directors of the Company trading to New Netherland, 12 February 1620.

Documents . . . procured in Holland &c., Ed. E. B. O'CALLAGHAN. Vol. I., pp. 22, 23. Albany N.Y., 1856, 4.

RESOLUTION OF THE STATES GENERAL ON THE PETITION OF THE NEW NETHERLAND COMPANY.

Saturday, the 11th April 1620 [*N.S.*].

The Petition of the Directors of the New Netherland Company, that they, for the peopling of the said Island [of Manhattan], may be assisted with two ships of war, is again rejected. *Idem*, p. 24.

SIR DUDLEY CARLETON TO THE ENGLISH PRIVY COUNCIL. THE HAGUE; TUESDAY, 5/15 FEBRUARY 1621/1622.

May it please your Lordships. Having received your Lordships'

letter, of the 15th of December [1621], touching the Hollanders entering, a year since [*i.e. in December* 1620], and planting a Colony, upon some parts of the north of Virginia, within the precinct of which His Majesty had formerly granted, by his *Patent*, the quiet and full possession unto particular persons: with commandment from His Majesty to move the States General, not only to make stay of such ships as are here prepared for that voyage; but likewise to prohibit the further prosecution of that Plantation:

I took the liberty which the season gave me—all these country [*Dutch*] ships being then, as they still are, bound in with ice—to inform myself of the state of the business, before I would appear in their Assembly; and could not find (either by such merchants with whom I have acquaintance at Amsterdam; or by [MAURICE] the Prince of ORANGE and some of the States, of whom I made enquiries) any more in the matter but that, about four or five years since [1618, *or* 1617], two particular Companies of Amsterdam merchants began a trade into those parts, betwixt 40 and 45 degrees [North]; to which, after their manner, they gave their own names of New Netherlands; a South, and a North, Sea; a Texel; a Vlieland; and the like. Whither they have, ever since, continued to send ships, of 30 or 40 lasts [= 60 *to* 80 *tons*] at the most, to fetch furs; which is all their trade: for the providing of which, they have certain Factors there, continually resident, trading with [the] savages. And, at this present, there is a ship at Amsterdam bound for those parts.

But I cannot learn of any Colony; either already planted there by these people, or so much as intended.

And I have this further reason to believe there is none—because, within these few months, divers inhabitants of this country, to a considerable number of families [*i.e.* 60 *families of Walloons*] have been suitors unto me to procure them a place of habitation amongst His Majesty's subjects of those parts: which, by His Majesty's order, was made known to the Directors of the Plantation [*i.e. The London Virginia Company*]; and if these country men [*Dutchmen*] were in any such way themselves, there is small appearance [that] they would desire to mingle with strangers, and be subject to their Government.

Nevertheless because more may be known to your Lordships

than I can learn here ; I have not failed of my duty in demanding audience of the States, and saying to them what I was commanded: the effect [*substance*] whereof (as the use here is, being so required) I gave them in writing; according to the copy I send your Lordships herewith.

Which those of [the Province of] Holland demanded of the Assembly ; whereby to take information of the business, of which they pretended ignorance : thereupon to frame an Answer to His Majesty ; which, when I shall receive, I will not fail to advertise your Lordships.

So I most humbly take leave. From the Hague, the 5th of February 1621.

S. P., *Holland.* Bundle 145.

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1. The first important point here is, That it is clear that, on the 2/12 February 1619/1620, the date of the first document, Master THOMAS WESTON, the London Merchant of whom we shall presently hear so much, had not yet come to the Leyden Church ; and made his proposals to them : because, at page 317, the Rev. JOHN ROBINSON writes of him to JOHN CARVER, "When we had another course with the Dutchmen, [we] broke it off, at his motion." Now these negotiations were certainly *not* broken off on the above date.

2. But these *were* broken off before 1/11 April 1620, the date of the second document ; otherwise they would have come to an end through the failure of the New Netherland Company, consequent on the refusal of the States General : instead of which, the Englishmen broke them off.

3. Therefore we can say with certainty, that, THOMAS WESTON appeared on the scene at Leyden, on some date between 2/12 February and 1/11 April 1620.

4. Notice Sir DUDLEY CARLETON'S statement that, up to the 5/15 February 1622, no Colony of any kind existed at the island of Manhattan ; but only Fur Factors.

Why then did the Pilgrims, having rejected all idea of

living under the Dutch, on the arrival of the *Mayflower* off Cape Cod on the 9/19 November 1620, deliberately sail southward in order to settle themselves somewhere near the Hudson river, which, as they then thought, was some thirty miles off, see page 407?

Three reasons may be assigned for this:

First. Their *Patent*, granted to Master WINCOP, was for the northern parts of Virginia.

Secondly. In the course of their negotiations with the New Netherland Company, they must have received some special and favourable information from them, respecting that part of North America.

Thirdly. A cogent reason for such a desired proximity would be, mutual help in time of need. We can see how deeply they felt their utter isolation from all European aid, when they first anchored in Cape Cod Bay, from Governor BRADFORD'S remarks at pp. 351-354.

CHAPTER XXXIII.

The Negotiations with Master Thomas Weston, Merchant; and the Adventurers in and about London. 1620.

FOR these Negotiations, Governor Bradford is the only authority.

About this time, whilst they were perplexed with the proceedings of the Virginia Company; and the ill news from thence about Master Blackwell and his Company; and making enquiry about the hiring and buying of shipping for their Voyage: some Dutchmen made them [*? in January* 1620] fair offers about going with them [to the Hudson river].

Also one Master Thomas Weston, a Merchant of London, came to Leyden about the same time [*? February* 1620]: who was well acquainted with some of them, and a furtherer of them in their former proceedings [*? at Boston, or ? at Amsterdam, or ? at Leyden*]. Having much conference with Master Robinson and others of the Chief of them; [he] persuaded them to go on, as it seems; and not to meddle with the Dutch, or too much to depend on the Virginia Company. For if that failed [*in supplying them with shipping to go to America*], if they came to resolution [to migrate], he and such Merchants as were his friends, together with their [*the Pilgrims'*] own means, would set them forth: and they should make ready, and neither fear want of shipping

nor money; for what they wanted should be provided. And, not so much for himself, as for the satisfying of such friends as he should procure to adventure in this business, they were to draw [up] such *Articles of Agreement*, and make such Propositions, as might the better induce his friends to venture.

Upon which, after the former's conclusion [*the break off with the Dutch, in ? March* 1620], *Articles* were drawn, and agreed unto; and were shown unto him, and approved by him: and afterwards, by their said Messenger (Master JOHN CARVER) sent into England. Who, together with ROBERT CUSHMAN, were to receive the monies, and make provision both for shipping and other things for the Voyage: with this charge, not to exceed their Commission; but to proceed according to the former *Articles*.

Also some were chosen to do the like, for such things as were to be prepared there [*i.e. in Holland*]. So those that were to go, prepared themselves with all speed, and sold off their estates [*properties*]; and, such as were able, put in their monies into the Common Stock: which was disposed, by those appointed, for the making of general provisions.

About this time also, they had heard, both by Master WESTON and others, that sundry honourable Lords had obtained a large grant from the King for the more northerly parts of that country, derived out of the Virginia *Patent*; and wholly secluded from their Government: and to be called by another name, viz. New England.* Unto which, Master WESTON and the Chief

* Here is a slip of memory on behalf of Governor BRADFORD. JAMES I.'s *Warrant* to Sir THOMAS COVENTRY to prepare the new *Patent*, for, The

of them, began to incline, it was best for them to go: as for other reasons, so chiefly for the hope of present [*immediate*] profit, to be made by the fishing that was found in that country.

But as, in all businesses, the acting part is most difficult, especially where the work of many Agents must concur: so was it found in this. For some of those that should have gone, in England, fell off; and would not go. Other merchants and friends that had offered to adventure their monies, withdrew; and pretended many excuses. Some disliking they went not to Guiana. Others again would adventure nothing, except they went to Virginia. Some again, and those that were most relied on, fell in utter dislike with Virginia; and would do nothing, if they went thither.

In the midst of these distractions, they of Leyden, who had put off their estates [*sold their properties*] and laid out their monies, were brought into a great strait: fearing what issue these things would come to. But, at length, the Generality [*majority of the Adventurers*] was swayed to this latter opinion [*of going to Virginia*].

But now another difficulty arose. For Master WESTON and some others that were for this course [*of going to Virginia*], (either for their better advantage; or rather for the drawing on of others, as they pretended) would have some of these *Conditions* altered, that were first agreed on at Leyden.

To which the two Agents sent from Leyden; or, at

Council for the Affairs of New England in America," is dated the 23rd July 1620; and the *Speedwell* left Delfshaven on the 26th July 1620; both Old Style. The actual *Patent* was not signed till 3rd November 1620. The Pilgrim Fathers could only have heard of this *Warrant*, on their arrival at Southampton.—E. A.

least, one of them [ROBERT CUSHMAN] who is most charged with it, did consent.

Seeing else that all was like[ly] to be dashed, and the opportunity lost; and that they which had put off their estates [*sold their properties*], and paid in their monies, were in hazard to be undone: they presumed to conclude with the Merchants on those terms, in some things contrary to their order and Commission; and without giving them [at Leyden] notice of the same. It was concealed, lest it should make any further delay. Which was the cause, afterward, of much trouble and contentions.

It will be meet [that] I here insert these [altered] *Conditions*; which are as followeth:

Anno 1620 [*O.S.*], [SATURDAY,] July 1st.

1. The Adventurers and Planters do agree, That every person that goeth, being aged sixteen years and upwards, be rated at £10: and £10 to be accounted a Single Share.
2. That he that goeth in person, and furnisheth himself out with £10, either in money or other provisions, be accounted as having £20 in Stock: and in the Division shall receive a Double Share.
3. The persons transported and the Adventurers shall continue their Joint Stock and Partnership together, the space of Seven Years; except some unexpected impediment do cause the whole Company to agree otherwise; during which time, all profits and benefits that are got by [the] trade, traffic, trucking, working, fishing, or any other means, of any person, or persons, [shall] remain still in the Common Stock until the Division.
4. That, at their coming there [*i.e. in Virginia*], they choose out such a number of fit persons as may furnish their ships and boats for fishing upon the sea: imploying the rest in their several faculties [*trades*] upon the land; as building houses, tilling and planting the ground, and making such commodities as shall be most useful for the Colony.

5. That at the end of the Seven Years, the Capital and Profits (viz. the houses, lands, goods and chattles) be equally divided betwixt the Adventurers and [the] Planters. Which done, every man shall be free from other of them, of any debt or detriment concerning this Adventure.
6. Whosoever cometh to the Colony hereafter, or putteth any[thing] into the Stock, shall, at the end of the Seven Years, be allowed proportionately to the time of his so doing.
7. He that shall carry his wife and children, or servants, shall be allowed for every person, now aged sixteen years and upward, a Single Share in the Division; or, if he provide them necessaries, a Double Share: or, if they be between ten years old and sixteen, then two of them to be reckoned for a person, both in Transportation and Division.
8. That such children as now go, and are under the age of ten years, have no other Share in the Division but fifty acres of unmanured land.
9. That such persons as die before the Seven Years be expired, their Executors to have their part or Share at the Division, proportionately to the time of their life in the Colony.
10. That all such persons as are of this Colony are to have their meat, drink, apparel, and all provisions out of the Common Stock and goods of the said Colony.

The chief and principal differences between these, and the former, *Conditions* stood in those two points:

[5.] That the houses, and lands improved, especially gardens and home lots, should remain, undivided, wholly to the Planters, at the Seven Years' end.

[11.] Secondly. That they should have had two days in a week for their own private imployment, for the more comfort of themselves and their families; especially such as had families.

But because Letters are by some wise men counted the best part of Histories; I shall show their grievances hereabout by their own letters: in which the passages of things will be more truly discerned.

[We must here re-arrange these letters in the Bradford Manuscript in a strict chronological order.—E. A.]

[A LETTER FROM SUNDRY OF THE PILGRIM CHURCH TO THEIR AGENTS IN LONDON.]

WEDNESDAY, 31 MAY /10 JUNE 1620.

To their loving friends JOHN CARVER and ROBERT CUSHMAN these, *&c.*

Good Brethren. After salutations, *&c.* We received divers letters at the coming of Master [THOMAS] NASH, and our Pilot [*who was to navigate the* Speedwell *from Delfshaven to Southampton*] which is a great incouragement unto us; and for whom, we hope, after times will minister occasion of praising GOD. And ndeed had you not sent him, many would have been ready to faint and go back: partly in respect of the new *Conditions* which have been taken up [*accepted*] by you, which all men are against; and partly in regard of our own inability to do any one of those many weighty businesses, you refer to us here.

For the former whereof, Whereas ROBERT CUSHMAN desires reasons for our dislike, promising thereupon to alter the same; else saying we should think he hath no brains: we desire him to exercise them therein, referring him to our Pastor's former reasons; and them, to the censure of the godly wise. But our desires are, that you will not entangle yourselves and us in any such unreasonable courses as these are, viz.

[5.] That the Merchants should have the half of men's houses and lands at the Divident.

[11.] And that persons should be deprived of the two [week] days in a week agreed upon; yea, [of] every moment of time, for their own particular [*private use*]. By reason whereof, we cannot conceive why any should carry servants, for their own help and comfort; for [*seeing*] that we can require no more of them, than all men one of another.

This we have only by relation from Master NASH, and not from any writing of your own; and therefore [we] hope you have not proceeded far in so great a thing without us. But requiring you not to exceed the bounds of your Commission; which was to proceed upon the things or *Conditions* agreed upon, and expressed in writing, at your going ever about it, we leave it: not without

marvelling that yourself (as you write) knowing how small a thing troubleth our consultations, and how few (as you fear) understand the business aright; [you] should trouble with such matters as these are, *&c.*

Salute Master WESTON from us; in whom we hope we are not deceived. We pray you make known our estate unto him; and, if you think good, show him our letters. At least, tell him, That, under GOD, we much rely upon him; and put our confidence in him. And, as yourselves well know, that if he had not been an Adventurer with us, we had not taken it in hand: presuming that if he had not seen means to accomplish it, he would not have begun it. So we hope, in our extremity, he will so far help us as [that] our expectation be no way made frustrate concerning him.

Since therefore, Good Brethren, we have plainly opened the state of things with us, in this manner; you will, *&c.*

Thus beseeching the Almighty, who is all-sufficient to raise us out of this depth of difficulties, to assist us herein: raising such means, by his Providence and fatherly care for us his poor children and servants, as we may with comfort behold the hand of our GOD for good towards us in this our business; which we undertake in his name and fear, we take leave, and remain

Your perplexed, yet hopeful, brethren,

SAMUEL FULLER.
EDWARD WINSLOW.
WILLIAM BRADFORD.
ISAAC ALLERTON.

June 10th, New Style,
Anno 1620.

Besides these things, there fell out a difference amongst those Three that received the monies and made the provisions in England. For besides these two, formerly mentioned, sent from Leyden for this end, viz. Master CARVER and ROBERT CUSHMAN, there was one chosen in England to be joined with them, to make the provisions [*arrangements*] for the Voyage. His name was Master [CHRISTOPHER] MARTIN. He came from Billericay in Essex: from which parts came sundry others to go with them; as also from London and other places. And therefore it was thought meet and convenient by them

in Holland, that these strangers that were to go with them, should appoint one thus to be joined with them: not so much for any great need of their help as to avoid all suspicion, or jealousy, of any partiality. And indeed their care for [*against*] giving offence, both in this and other things afterward, turned to great inconvenience unto them; as in the sequel will appear: but, however, it shewed their equal and honest minds.

The provisions [*preparations*] were, for the most part, made at Southampton; contrary to Master WESTON'S and ROBERT CUSHMAN'S mind; whose counsels did most concur in all things.

A touch of which things, I shall give, in a letter of his, to Master CARVER: and more will appear afterward.

[ROBERT CUSHMAN AT LONDON TO JOHN CARVER, ? AT SOUTHAMPTON.]
SATURDAY, 10/20 JUNE 1620.

To his loving friend, Master JOHN CARVER, these, *&c.*

Loving friend. I have received from you, some letters full of [dis]affection and complaints: and what it is you would have of me, I know not. For your crying out, "Negligence! Negligence! Negligence!": I marvel why so negligent a man was used in the business. Yet, know you! that all that I have power to do here, shall not be one hour behind, I warrant you!

You have reference to Master WESTON to help us with money, more than his Adventure: when he protesteth, But for his promise, he would not have done anything. He saith, We take a heady course, and is offended that our provisions [*preparatións*] are made so far off, as also that he was not made acquainted with our quantity of things: and saith, That in now being in three places too far remote [*i.e. Leyden, London, and Southampton*], we will, with going up and down, and wrangling and expostulating pass over the summer before we will go.

And to speak the truth there is fallen already amongst us a flat schism; and we are readier to go to dispute, than to set forward a voyage. I have received from Leyden, since you went [? *to Southampton*], three or four letters directed to you; though they only concern me. I will not trouble you with them.

I always feared the event of the Amsterdam's [*i.e. members of the Rev. Henry Ainsworth's Church there*] striking in with us. I trow, you must excommunicate me, or else you must go without their company; or we shall want no quarrelling. But let them pass.

We have reckoned, it should seem, without our host; and counted upon one hundred and fifty persons. There cannot be found above £1,200 and odd monies, of all the Ventures you can reckon: besides some cloth, stockings, and shoes; which are not counted. So we shall come short at least £300 or £400 [*i.e. at £10 a person*].

I would have had something shortened, at first, of beer and other provisions, in hope of other Adventures. And now we could have, both in Amsterdam and Kent, beer inough to serve our turn: but now we cannot accept it without prejudice [*i.e. having already made other arrangements*].

You fear, We have begun to build; and shall not be able to make an end. Indeed our courses were never established by counsel; we may therefore justly fear their standing. Yea, there was a schism amongst us [Three], at the first.

You wrote to Master Martin to prevent the making of the provisions in Kent: which he did, and set down his resolution, How much he would have of everything; without respect to any counsel, or exception. Surely, he that is in a society, and yet regards not counsell, may better be a King than a consort.

To be short, if there be not some other disposition settled unto, than yet is: we, that should be partners of humility and peace, shall be examples of jangling and insulting.

Yet your money which you there [*? Southampton*] must have; we will get provided for you instantly. £500, you say, will serve. For the rest which here and in Holland is to be used; we may go scratch for it.

For Master Crabe,* of whom you write, he hath promised to go with us: yet I tell you, I shall not be without fear till I see him shipped; for he [*i.e. his going*] is much opposed. Yet I hope he will not fail.

* He was a Minister. [W. B.]

Think the best of all, and bear with patience what is wanting: and the Lord guide us all!

Your loving friend,

Robert Cushman.

London, June 10th
Anno 1620.

A LETTER OF ROBERT CUSHMAN'S TO THEM [AT LEYDEN].
[LONDON ; ? SATURDAY, 10/20 JUNE 1620.]

Brethren. I understand by letters and passages that have come to me, that there are great discontents and dislikes of my proceedings amongst you. Sorry I am to hear it, yet content to bear it : as not doubting but that, partly by writing, and more principally by word when we shall come together, I shall satisfy any reasonable man.

I have been persuaded by some, especially this bearer [*the bearer of this* : ? *JOHN TURNER intended, see pp.* 315, 316] to come and clear things unto you : but, as things now stand, I cannot be absent one day, except I should hazard all the Voyage. Neither conceive I any great good would come of it. Take then, Brethren, this as a step to give you content.

First, for your dislike of the alteration of one clause in the *Conditions* ; if you conceive it right, there can be no blame lie on me at all. For the *Articles* first brought over by JOHN CARVER were never seen of any of the Adventurers here, except Master WESTON : neither did any of them like them, because of that clause ; nor Master WESTON himself, after he had well considered it. But as at the first there was £500 withdrawn by Sir GEORGE FARRER and his brother, upon that dislike ; so all the rest would have withdrawn, Master WESTON excepted, if we had not altered that clause. Now whilst we at Leyden conclude[d] upon points, as we did ; we reckoned without our host : which was not my fault.

Besides, I shewed you, by a letter, the equity of that *Condition* and our inconveniences : which might be set against all Master ROBINSON'S inconveniences :

> That without the alteration of that clause, we could neither have means to get thither ; nor Supply [*reinforcements*] whereby to subsist, when we were there.

Yet notwithstanding all those reasons ; which were not mine, but other men's wiser than myself : without answer to any one of them ; here cometh over many querimonies and complaints against me : of lording it over my bretheren ; and making conditions fitter for thieves and bondslaves than honest men ; and that, of my own head, I did what I list.

And, at last a Paper of Reasons, framed against that clause in the *Conditions* : which as they were delivered me open, so my Answer is open to you all. And first, as they are no other but

inconveniences; such as a man might frame twenty as great on the other side, and yet prove, nor disprove, nothing by them: so they miss and mistake both the very ground of the *Article*, and nature of the project.

1. For, first, it is said, That if there had been no division of houses and lands, it had been better for the poor.

[*Answer.*] True, and that showeth the inequality of the *Conditions*. We should more respect him that ventureth both his money and his person, than him that ventureth but his person only.

2. [*Answer.*] Consider whereabout we are. Not giving alms, but furnishing a Store House. No one shall be poorer than another for Seven Years; and if any be rich, none can be poor. At the least, we must not, in such business, cry "Poor! Poor! Mercy! Mercy!" Charity hath its life in Wrecks, not in Ventures. You are by this most in a hopeful pity of making. Therefore complain not before you have need!

3. This will hinder the building of good and fair houses; contrary to the advice of Politics [*Political Economists*].

Answer. So we would have it. Our purpose is to build for the present such houses as, if need be, we may, with little grief, set afire, and run away by the light [thereof]. Our riches shall not be in pomp, but in strength. If GOD send us riches, we will imploy them to provide more men, ships, munition, *&c.* You may see it amongst the best Politics [*Political Economists*], that a Common Weal is readier to ebb, than to flow, when once fine houses and gay clothes come up.

4. The Government [there] may prevent excess in building.

Answer. But if it be on all men beforehand resolved on, to build mean houses; the Government's labour is spared.

5. All men are not of one condition.

Answer. If by condition, you mean wealth; you are mistaken. If you mean, by condition, qualities; then I say:

He that is not content his neighbour shall have as good a house, fare, means, &c., as himself, is not of a good quality.

Secondly. Such retired [*selfish*] persons as have an eye only to themselves, are fitter to come where catching is, than closing: and are fitter to live alone; than in any society, either civil or religious.

6. It will be of little value, scarce worth £5 [a house, &c.].

Answer. True, it may be not worth half £5. If then so small a thing will content them [*the Adventurers*]; why strive we thus

about it, and give them occasion to suspect us to be worldly and covetous? I will not say what I have heard, since these Complaints came first over [from Holland].

7. Our friends with us that adventure, mind not their own profit, as did the old Adventurers.

Answer. Then they are better than we, who for [want of] a little matter of profit are ready to draw back. And it is more apparent, (Brethren, look to it!) that [ye] make profit your main end! Repent of this, else go not! lest you be like a JONAS to Tarshish.

Secondly. Though some of them mind not their profit; yet others do mind it: and why not, as well as we? Ventures are made by all sorts of men; and we must labour to give them all content, if we can.

8. It will break the course of Community, as may be showed by many reasons.

Answer. That is but said: and I say again, It will best foster Communion [? *the common interest, or ? the community of goods*] as may be showed by many reasons.

9. Great profit is like[ly] to be made by trucking, fishing, *&c.*

Answer. As it is better for them, so for us: for half is ours, besides our living still upon it. And if such profit in that way come, our labour shall be the less on the land: and our houses and lands must, and will be, of less value.

10. Our hazard is greater than theirs.

Answer. True; but do they put us upon it? Do they urge and egg us [on]? Hath not the motion and resolution been always in ourselves? Do they any more than, in seeing us resolute if we had the means, help us to means upon equal terms and conditions? If we will not go, they are content to keep their monies.

Thus, I have pointed at a way to [un]lose those knots: which I hope you will consider seriously; and let me have no more stir about them.

Now, further, I hear a noise of slavish conditions by me made: but, surely, this is all that I have altered; and [the] reasons [for it], I have sent you.

If you mean it [in respect] of the two days in a week for particular [*private purposes*], as some insinuate; you are deceived. You may have three days in a week, for me, if you will. And when I have spoken to the Adventurers of times of working,

they have said, They hope we are men of discretion and conscience; and so fit to be trusted ourselves with that.

And, indeed, the ground of our proceedings at Leyden was mistaken; and so here is nothing but tottering every day, *&c.*

As for them of Amsterdam [*i.e. the members of the Rev.* HENRY AINSWORTH'S *Church there*], I had thought they would as soon have gone to Rome as with us: for our liberty [*i.e. moderate views &c.*] is to them as ratsbane; and their rigour [*i.e. rigid ideas*] as bad to us as the Spanish Inquisition. If any practice [*performance*] of mine discourage them; let them yet draw back! I will undertake they shall have their money again presently [*instantly*] paid here: or if the Company think me to be the JONAS, let them cast me off before we go. I shall be content to stay [in England] with good will; having but the clothes on my back.

Only let us have quietness, and no more of these clamours. Full little did I expect these things which are now come to pass, *&c.*

Yours,

[? 10/20 June 1620.] ROBERT CUSHMAN.

But whether this letter of his ever came to their hands at Leyden I well know not. I rather think it was stayed by Master CARVER; and kept by him, for fear of offence.

But this which follows was there received. Both [of] which, I thought pertinent to recite.

[The date of this letter is 11th June, which, in 1620, fell on a Sunday. But the date must be an error for two reasons:

(1) "and have took [a] liking of one till Monday," could hardly have been written on the *previous* day: but might have been written on the day before that, viz., Saturday, 10th June 1620; which is the date of the previous letter to JOHN CARVER, at pp. 309-310. Both letters would seem to have been *dated* the same day.

(2) It is unlikely that one of the Pilgrim Fathers would have written a business letter on a Sunday, unless under some extraordinary necessity.]

ROBERT CUSHMAN'S REPLY TO THE LETTER OF THE FOUR AT LEYDEN. LONDON; SATURDAY, 10/20 JUNE 1620.

Salutations, &c., I received your letter [of 31 May /10 June] yesterday [9/19 June] by JOHN TURNER: with another, the same day, from Amsterdam, by Master W., savouring of the place whence it came.

And indeed the many discouragements I find here [*in London*], together with the demurs and retirings there [*at Leyden*], had made me to say, "I would give up my accounts to JOHN CARVER; and, at his coming [*i.e. from Southampton to London*], acquaint him fully with all courses [*proceedings*]: and so leave it quite, with only the poor clothes on my back."

But, gathering up myself, by further consideration; I resolved yet to make one trial more: and to acquaint Master WESTON with the [?] fainted [*prostrate*] state of our business.

And though he hath been much discontented at some thing[s] amongst us of late; which hath made him often say, That, save for his promise, he would not meddle at all with the business any more. Yet (considering how far we were plunged into matters; and how it stood both on our credits and undoing), at the last, he gathered up himself a little more: and coming to me, two hours after, he told me, He would not yet leave it.

And so, advising together, we resolved to hire a ship; and have took [a] liking of one till Monday [12th June], [of] about sixty last* [= 120 tons]: for a greater we cannot get, except it be too great. But a fine ship it is. And seeing our near [*stingy* or *short-sighted*] friends there [*at Leyden*] are so straitlaced; we hope to assure [*make sure of her*] without troubling them any further: and if the ship fall too small; it fitteth well, that such as stumble at straws already, may rest them there [*at Leyden*] awhile, lest worse blocks come in the way, ere the Seven Years be ended.

If you had beaten this business so thoroughly a month ago [*i.e. in April/May* 1620] and writ to us as you now do; we could thus have done [it] much more conveniently. But it is, as it is.

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* A Last = 2 Tons = 12 Barrels of 32 gallons each = 384 gallons. [See E. ARBER, *An English Garner*, iii. pp. 626, 632, Ed. 1880, 8.] This vessel then, of 120 tons, was therefore *not* the *Mayflower*, of 180 tons; which, up to this date, 12/22 June 1620, had apparently not been either considered, or looked at.—E. A.

I hope our friends there [*at Leyden*], if they be quitted of the ship hire [of this ship], will be induced to venture the more.

All that I now require is, that salt and nets may there [*in Holland, the great centre of the European fishing trade*], be bought: and for all the rest, we will here provide it. Yet if that will not be [*i.e. if the Leyden Venturers would not pay for the salt and nets*]: let them but stand for it a month or two, and we will take order to pay it all.

Let Master REYNOLDS tarry there, and bring the ship [the *Speedwell*] to Southampton.

We have hired another Pilot here, one Master [JOHN, *see page* 254] CLARKE: who went last year, to Virginia, with a ship of kine [*cattle*].

You shall hear distinctly [*more explicitly*] by JOHN TURNER: who, I think, shall come hence on Tuesday night [13th June].

I had thought to have come with him, to have answered to my complaints [*the complaints of me*]; but I shall learn to pass little for their censures: and if I had more mind to go and dispute and expostulate with them, than I have care of this weighty business; I were like them who live by clamours and jangling. But neither my mind nor my body is at liberty to do much: for I am fettered with business; and had rather study to be quiet, than to make answer to their Exceptions. If men be set on it, let them beat the air!

I hope such as are my sincere friends will not think but I can give some reason of my actions. But of your mistaking about the matter, and other things tending to this business; I shall next inform you more distinctly [*explicitly*]. Mean space, entreat our friends not to be too busy in answering matters, before they know them. If I do such things as I cannot give reasons for, it is like[ly] you have set a fool about your business: and so turn the reproof to yourselves, and send another; and let me come again to my combs [*wool combs, see page* 165].

But, setting aside my natural infirmities, I refuse not to have my cause judged, both of GOD and all indifferent men: and when we come together, I shall give account of my actions here.

The LORD, who judgeth justly without respect of persons, see unto the equity of my cause! and give us quiet, peaceable, and

patient minds in all these turmoils! and sanctify unto us all crosses whatsoever!

And so I take my leave of you all, in all love and affection,

Your poor Brother,

ROBERT CUSHMAN.

June 11th [? 10th] 1620.

I hope we shall get all here [*in London*] ready in fourteen days.

[The following was written while the last Letter was on its way to Leyden.]

A LETTER OF MASTER ROBINSON'S TO JOHN CARVER.
LEYDEN; WEDNESDAY, 14/24 JUNE 1620.

My dear friend and brother, whom with yours, I always remember in my best affection; and whose welfare I shall never cease to commend to GOD by my best and most earnest prayers.

You do thoroughly understand, by our general letters, the estate of things here: which indeed is very pitiful; especially by want of shipping, and not seeing means likely, much less certain, of having it provided. Though withal, there be great want of money, and means to do needful things.

Master [EDWARD] PICKERING, you know before this, will not defray a penny here; though ROBERT CUSHMAN presumed, of I know not how many £100 from him, and I know not whom: yet it seems strange that we should be put to him to receive both his, and his partner's Adventure; and yet Master WESTON writ unto him that, in regard of it, he hath drawn upon him [? by Bill of Exchange, for] a £100 more. But there is in this some mystery, as indeed it seems there is in the whole course.

Besides, whereas divers are to pay in some parts of their money yet behind: they refuse to do it, till they see shipping provided; or a course taken for it. Neither, do I think, is there a man here [who] would pay anything, if he had again his money in his purse.

You know right well, we depended on Master WESTON alone; and upon such means as he would procure for this common business: and when we had in hand another course with the Dutchmen, [we] broke it off, at his motion; and upon the *Conditions* by him shortly after propounded. He did this, in his love, I know: but things appear not answerable from him hitherto. That he should have first put in his monies [? £500,] is thought by

many to have been but fit; but that I can well excuse, he being a Merchant and having use [*interest*] of it to his benefit; whereas others, if it had been in their hands, would have consumed it. But that he should not but have had either shipping ready before this time; or at least certain means and course, and the same known to us for it: or have taken other order otherwise, cannot in my conscience be excused.

I have heard, That when he hath been moved in the business, he hath put it off from himself, and referred it to the others: and would come [*i.e. in London*] to George Morton, and inquire news of him about things; as if he had scarce been some accessory unto it. Whether he hath failed of some helps from others which he [hath] expected, and so be not well able to go through with things; or whether he hath feared lest you should be ready too soon, and so increase the charge [for the hire] of shipping above that [which] is meet; or whether he hath thought by withholding to put us upon straits, thinking that thereby Master Brewster and Master [Edward] Pickering would be drawn, by importunity, to do more; or what other mystery is in it, we know now: but sure we are, that things are not answerable to such an occasion.

Master Weston makes himself merry with our endeavours about buying a ship [the *Speedwell*]: but we have done nothing in this but with good reason, as I am persuaded; nor yet, that I know [of], in anything else, save in those two:

The one, that we imployed Robert Cushman, who is known, though a good man and of special abilities in his kind, yet most unfit to deal for other men by reason of his singularity [*oddity* or *particularity*] and too great indifferency for any conditions, and for, to speak truly, that we have had nothing from him but terms and presumptions.

The other that we have so much relied, by implicit faith as it were, upon generalities [*a general promise*]; without seeing the particular course or means for so weighty an affair, set down unto us.

For shipping, Master Weston it should seem, is set upon hiring; which yet I wish he may presently effect: but I see little hope of help from hence, if so it be. Of Master [Thomas] Brewer, you know what to expect. I do not think Master Pickering will ingage; except in the course of buying [? ships, as] in former letters specified.

About the *Conditions*, you have our reasons for our Judgements of [*as to*] what is agreed. And let this specially be borne in mind, That the greatest part of the Colony is like[ly] to be imployed constantly, not upon dressing their particular [*own*] land and building houses; but upon fishing, trading, &c.: so as the "land and house" will be but a trifle for advantage to The Adventurers; and yet the division of it, a great discouragement to the Planters; who would with singular [*especial*] care make it comfortable, with borrowed hours from their sleep.

The same consideration of common imployment constantly, by the most, is a good reason not to have the two days in a week denied the few Planters for private use: which yet is subordinate to common good. Consider also how much unfit that you, and your likes, must serve a new [ap]prenticeship of Seven Years; and not a day's freedom from task!

Send me word what persons are to go; who, of useful faculties [*trades*], and how many; and particularly of everything.

I know you want not a mind. I am sorry you have not been at London all this while: but the provisions [*preparations*] could not want you. [*Carver was apparently at Southampton.*]

Time will suffer me to write no more. Fare you, and yours, well always in the Lord: in whom I rest.

Yours to use,

John Robinson.

I have been the larger in these things, and so shall crave leave in some like passages following, though in other things I shall labour to be more contract, that their children may see with what difficulties their fathers wrestled, in going through these things, in their first beginnings: and how GOD brought them along, notwithstanding all their weaknesses and infirmities. As also that some use may be made hereof, in after times, by others in such like weighty imployments. And herewith I will end this Chapter. *Bradford MS.*, folios 73-91.

CHAPTER XXXIV.

Who were the Adventurers?

APTAIN JOHN SMITH in his *General History of Virginia, &c.*, published in July 1624, writes as follows:

The Adventurers, which raised the Stock to begin and supply [*reinforce*] this Plantation, were about seventy: some, Gentlemen; some, Merchants; some, handicraftsmen; some adventuring great sums; some, small; as their estates and affection served.

The General Stock already employed [*expended*] is about £7,000. By reason of which charge, and many crosses; many of them would adventure no more: but others (that know so great a design cannot be effected without both charge, loss, and crosses) are resolved to go forward with it to their powers; which deserve no small commendations and encouragement.

These [*the Adventurers generally*] dwell most[ly] about London. They are not a Corporation: but [are] knit together, by a voluntary combination, in a Society, without constraint or penalty; aiming to do good, and to plant Religion.

They have a President and a Treasurer, every year newly chosen by the most voices [*the majority present*], who ordereth the affairs of their Courts and Meetings: and, with the assent of the most of them, undertaketh all ordinary businesses; but, in more weighty affairs, the assent of the whole Company is required. Lib VI., fol. 247.

In his *Advertisements &c.*, [written in October 1630; but printed in] 1631, Captain SMITH adds the following information:

These disasters, losses, and uncertainties made such disagreement among the Adventurers in England, who began to repent; and [would] rather lose all, than longer continue the charge: being out of purse £6,000 or £7,000; accounting my Books and their Relations as old *Almanacks*.

But the Planters, rather than leave the country, concluded absolutely to supply themselves; and to all their Adventurers, [to] pay them, for nine years, £200 yearly, without any other account: where, more than 600 Adventurers for Virginia, for more than £200,000, had not sixpence. p. 19.

The following forty-two Adventurers signed the Composition with the Plymouth Colony, on 15/25 November 1626, to receive £200 a year, for nine years. Apparently these were all the Adventurers in England who had any stake in the Plantation at that time.

ROBERT ALLDEN.
EMANUEL ALLTHAM.
RICHARD ANDREWS.
THOMAS ANDREWS.
LAURENCE ANTHONY.
EDWARD BASS,
JOHN BEAUCHAMP.
THOMAS BREWER.
HENRY BROWNING.
WILLIAM COLLIER.
THOMAS COVENTRY.
THOMAS FLETCHER.
THOMAS GOFFE.
PETER GUDBURN.
TIMOTHY HATHERLEY.
THOMAS HEATH.
WILLIAM HOBSON.
ROBERT HOLLAND.
THOMAS HUDSON.
ROBERT KEAN.
ELIZA KNIGHT.
JOHN KNIGHT.
MILES KNOWLES.
JOHN LING.
THOMAS MILLSOP
THOMAS MOTT.
FRIA. NEWBALD.
WILLIAM PENINGTON.

William Penrin.	James Shirley.
John Pocock.	John Thorned.
Daniel Poynton.	Matthew Thornhill.
William Quarles.	Joseph Tilden.
John Revell.	Thomas Ward.
Newman Rookes.	John White.
Samuel Sharp.	Richard Wright.

These names are preserved to us in Governor Bradford's *Letter Book*, reprinted in 1 *Mass. Hist. Coll.*, iii. 48, Ed. 1794, 8.

The following had also been among the Adventurers prior to the 25th November 1626.

William Greene. Edward Pickering. Thomas Weston.

The names of six of the above are found subsequently among the members of the Massachusetts Company.

Thomas Andrews.	John Pocock.	Samuel Sharp.
Thomas Goffe.	John Revell.	John White.

CHAPTER XXXV.

Captain John Smith, the Hero of Virginia, offers his services to the Pilgrim Fathers; who decline them: and then his advice, which they disregard.

AFTER his return from Virginia in 1612, Captain Smith devoted his life to the exploration and colonization of New England. In the following passages, he describes his negotiations with the Leyden Separatist Church. All the numbers of persons that he gives are merely round numbers; and not exact ones.

In the interim, many particular [*separate*] ships went thither, and finding my Relations true; and that I had not taken that I brought home, from the French men, as had been reported: yet further for my pains to discredit me, and my calling it New England, they obscured it, and shadowed it, with the title of Canada; till, at my humble suit, it pleased our most royal King Charles, whom GOD long keep bless and preserve!, then Prince of Wales, to confirm it, with my Map and Book, by the title of New England.

The gain thence returning did make the fame thereof so increase, that thirty, forty, or fifty Sail went yearly; only to trade and fish.

But nothing would be done for a Plantation till about some hundred of your Brownists of England Amsterdam and Leyden, went to New Plymouth: whose

humorous ignorances caused them, for more than a year [1620—1621], to endure a wonderful deal of misery with an infinite patience; saying, My Books and Maps were much better cheap to teach them than myself. Many others have used the like good husbandry; that have paid soundly in trying their self-willed conclusions.

But those [*the Pilgrim Fathers*], in time, doing well; divers others have, in small handfuls, undertaken to go there, to be several Lords and Kings of themselves: but most [have] vanished to nothing.

The True Travels &c., pp. 46, 47, [August] 1629, 4.

At last, upon those inducements, some well disposed Brownists, as they are termed, with some Gentlemen and Merchants of Leyden and Amsterdam, to save charges [*i.e. the expense of employing Captain* SMITH], would try their own conclusions, though with great loss and much misery, till time had taught them to see their own error: for such humorists [*contrarious people*] will never believe well, till they be beaten with their own rod.

Yet, at the first landing at Cape Cod, being a hundred passengers, besides twenty they had left behind at Plymouth; for want of good take-heed, thinking to find all things better than I advised them, [they] spent six or seven weeks in wandering up and down, in frost and snow, wind and rain, among the woods creeks and swamps, [so that] forty of them died, and threescore were left in most miserable estate at New Plymouth where their ship [the *Mayflower*] left them, and but nine leagues [= 27 *miles*], by sea, from where they landed.

Advertisements &c., pp. 17-19, [Written in October 1630; but printed] 1631, 4.

While these were the opinions of Captain SMITH; one fails to see, looking back on the events as they actually occurred, where he could have done much better than the Pilgrim Fathers did, from the time of their first landing at Cape Cod until their settlement at New Plymouth. His hardened constitution might, however, have enabled him to be very helpful in the sickness of the following Spring of 1621.

It is very pleasant to see him speak so well of the Pilgrims; although they did not accept either his offers, or his advice.

CHAPTER XXXVI.

The Names of the Pilgrim Ships.

IT was the Rev. G. Cuthbert Blaxland, M.A., in his "*Mayflower* Essays," that first asked, What is the authority for the names of the two Pilgrim Ships of 1620? Curiously enough, these names do not occur either in the Bradford Manuscript; or in Mourt's *Relation*.

The authority for the name of the *Mayflower* is of the year 1623; and is the heading in the Official Records of the Old Colony, reprinted at page 383.

The authority for the name of the *Speedwell* is very much later; being indeed of no earlier date than 1669: in which year it first appeared on the fifth page of Nathaniel Morton's *New England's Memorial*.

CHAPTER XXXVII.

The Departure from Leyden.
May—July 1620.

OF this Exodus, we have two Accounts, which must here be blended together. We will begin with Governor Winslow:

Our Agents [*i.e. William Brewster and Robert Cushman*] returning; we further sought the Lord, by a public and solemn Fast [*? in April, or even earlier in,* 1620*; as those who went, had to sell their properties before they could put in their ventures*], for his guidance.

And hereupon we came to this resolution:

That it was best for one part of the Church to go at first; and the other to stay, viz.

The youngest and strongest part to go.

Secondly. They that went should freely offer themselves.

Thirdly. If the major part [*majority*] went, the Pastor to go with them: if not, the Elder only.

Fourthly. If the Lord should frown upon our proceedings, then those that went [were] to return; and the brethren that remained still there, to assist and be helpful to them. But if GOD should be pleased to favour them that went, then they also should endeavour to help over such as were poor, and ancient, and willing to come.

These things being agreed, the major part stayed; and

the Pastor with them for the present: but all intended, except a very few who had rather we would have stayed [in Holland], to follow after. The minor part, with Master BREWSTER their Elder, resolved to enter upon this great work. But take notice the difference of number was not great. *Hypocrisy unmasked &c.*, p. 90, Ed. 1646, 4.

Governor BRADFORD gives us some further particulars.

Upon the receipt of these things, by one of their Messengers; they had a solemn Meeting, and a Day of Humiliation, to seek the LORD for his direction. And their Pastor took this text, 1 Sam. xxiii. 3, 4. "And DAVID's men said unto him, See, we be afraid here in Judah; how much more if we come to Keilah against the host of the Philistines? Then DAVID asked counsel of the LORD again." [*Geneva Version.*] From which text, he taught many things very aptly, and befitting their present occasion and condition: strengthening them against their fears and perplexities; and incouraging them in their resolutions.

After which, they concluded both what number [150, *as stated at page* 310], and what persons should prepare themselves to go with the first: for all that were willing to have gone, could not get ready, for [*on account of*] their other affairs, in so short a time [*? May —July* 1620]; neither, if all could have been ready, had there been means to have transported them all together.

Those that stayed, being the greater number, required the Pastor to stay with them; and, indeed, for other reasons, he could not then well go: and so it was the more easily yielded unto.

The others then desired the Elder, Master BREWSTER, to go with them: which was also condescended unto [*agreed to*].

It was also agreed on, by mutual consent and covenant, that those that went should be an absolute Church of themselves, as well as those that stayed: seeing, in such a dangerous voyage and a removal to such a distance, it might come to pass they should, for the body of them, never meet again in this world. Yet, with this proviso, That as any of the rest came over to them, or of the others returned upon occasion; they should be reputed as Members, without any further dismission or testimonial.

It was also promised to those that went first, by the body of the rest, That if the LORD gave them life, and means, and opportunity; they would come to them as soon as they could. *Bradford MS.*, folios 71-73.

[THURSDAY, 20/30 JULY 1620.]

Governor WINSLOW thus describes the Farewell Feast at Leyden.

And when the ship [the *Speedwell*] was ready to carry us away, the brethren that stayed (having again solemnly sought the LORD with us, and for us; and we further engaging ourselves mutually, as before): they, I say, that stayed at Leyden feasted us that were to go, at our Pastor's house, [it] being large; where we refreshed ourselves, after our tears, with singing of *Psalms*, making joyful melody in our hearts as well as with the voice, there being many of the Congregation very expert in music; and indeed it was the sweetest melody that ever mine ears heard. *Hypocrisy &c.*, p. 90, 91, Ed. 1646, 4.

Governor BRADFORD's account is more pathetic.

At length, after much travail, and these debates; all things were got ready and provided. A small ship [the *Speedwell*], of some 60 tons, was bought and fitted in

Holland: which was intended as to serve to help to transport them; so to stay in the country and attend upon fishing and such other affairs as might be for the good and benefit of the Colony when they came there. Another was hired at London, of burden [of] about nine score [180 *tons*]: and all other things got in readiness.

[THURSDAY, 26/30 JULY 1620.]

So being ready to depart, they had a Day of Solemn Humiliation: their Pastor taking his text from *Ezra* viii. 21, "And there, at the river, by Ahava, I proclaimed a Fast, that we might humble ourselves before our GOD; and seek of him a right way for us, and for our children, and for all our substance." [*Geneva Version.*] Upon which [text], he spent a good part of the day very profitably [*see pp.* 182-184], and suitable to their present condition. The rest of the time was spent in pouring out prayers to the LORD with great fervency, mixed with abundance of tears. *Bradford MS.*, folio 91.

[FRIDAY, 21/31 JULY 1620.]

Governor WINSLOW resumes:

After this, they [who stayed] accompanied us to Delfshaven [*about* 24 *miles from Leyden*], where we were to embark; and there feasted us again. *Hypocrisy unmasked &c.*, page 91, Ed. 1646, 4.

Governor BRADFORD is fuller here.

And the time being come that they must depart, they were accompanied with most of their brethren out of the city [of Leyden] unto a town sundry miles off, called Delfshaven; where the ship lay ready to receive them. So they left that goodly and pleasant city, which had been their resting place near[ly] twelve years [*or more exactly, from April* 1609 *to* 21*st July* 1620]: but they

knew they were pilgrims [Heb. xi.] and looked not much on these things; but lift[ed] up their eyes to the heavens, their dearest country, and quieted their spirits.

When they came to the place, they found the ship and all things ready: and such of their friends as could not come with them, followed after them; and sundry also came from Amsterdam [*about* 50 *miles*] to see them shipped, and to take their leave of them. That night was spent with little sleep by the most; but with friendly entertainment, and Christian discourse, and other real expressions of true Christian love.

[SATURDAY, 22 JULY /1 AUGUST 1620.]

The next day, the wind being fair, they went aboard [the *Speedwell*] and their friends with them; when truly doleful was the sight of that sad and mournful parting. To see what sighs and sobs and prayers did sound amongst them; what tears did gush from every eye, and pithy speeches pierced each heart: that sundry of the Dutch strangers, that stood on the key [*quay, or wharf*] as spectators, could not refrain from tears. Yet comfortable and sweet it was to see such lively and true expressions of dear and unfeigned love.

But the tide, which stays for no man, calling them away that were thus loath to depart; their Reverend Pastor, falling down on his knees, and they all with him,* with watery cheeks, commended them, with most fervent prayers, to the LORD and his blessing. And then, with mutual embraces and many tears, they took their leaves one of another: which proved to be the last leave to many of them. *Bradford MS.*, folios 91-93.

* That is, on board the *Speedwell*; and not on the shore as in the painting to the Corridor of the Houses of Parliament.—E. A.

Governor WINSLOW adds a few touches here.

And after prayer performed by our Pastor, where a flood of tears was poured out; they accompanied us to the ship: but were not able to speak one to another, for the abundance of sorrow to part.

But we only [*alone*] going aboard, the ship lying to the key [*quay*] and ready to set sail; the wind being fair, we gave them a volley of small shot [*musketry*] and [of] three pieces of ordnance: and so lifting up our hands to each other; and our hearts for each other to the LORD our GOD, we departed—and found his presence with us, in the midst of our manifold straits [that] he carried us through.

And if any doubt this Relation, the Dutch, as I hear, at Delfshaven preserve the memory of it to this day [1646]; and will inform them.

But falling in with Cape Cod, [9th November], which is in New England; and standing to the southward for the place we intended [*about the Hudson river*]; we met with many dangers: and the mariners put back into the harbour of the Cape, which was the 11th of November 1620. Where (considering winter was come; the seas [were] dangerous; the season, cold; the winds, high; and being well furnished for a Plantation) we entered upon discovery; and settled at Plymouth: where, GOD being pleased to preserve and enable us, we that went, were at a thousand pounds charge [= £4,000 *now*] in sending for our brethren that were behind; and in providing there for them, till they could reap a crop of their own labours.

And so, good Reader, I have given thee a true and faithful account, though very brief, of our proceedings: wherein thou seest how a late Writer [ROBERT BAILLIE],

and those that informed him, have wronged our enterprise.

And, truly, what I have written is far short of what it was; omitting, for brevity sake, many circumstances, as:

The large offers the Dutch offered to us,

Either to have removed into [the Province of] Zealand; and there lived with them:

Or, if we would go on such adventures, to go, under them, to HUDSON'S river, where they have since a great Plantation, &c. [*New Amsterdam*, now *New York*]; and how they would freely have transported us, and furnished every family with cattle, &c.

Also the English Merchants that joined with us in this expedition: whom we since bought out.

Which is fitter for a History than an Answer to such an Objection: and [which History,] I trust, will be accomplished in good time.*

By all which the Reader may see there was no breach between us that went, and the brethren that stayed: but such love as indeed is seldom found on earth. *Hypocrisy unmasked &c.*, p. 91, Ed. 1646, 4.

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* Does WINSLOW here refer to the *Bradford MS.*? He must have known of it.—E. A.

CHAPTER XXXVIII.

The Business at Southampton. [? Wednesday, 26 July /5 August]—Saturday, 5/15 August 1620.

HERE let us consider the excellent management and strategy of this Exodus. If the Pilgrims had gone to London, to embark for America; many, if not most, of them would have been put in prison: especially William Brewster. So only those embarked in London, against whom the Bishops could take no action.

The stay at Southampton would not have been more than three or four days, but for the leakage of the *Speedwell*.

As matters fortunately turned out, in spite of all delays, they were able to leave England, without meeting with either hindrance, or annoyance, from either the Government, or the Bishops.

Thus, hoisting sail, with a prosperous wind, they came, in short time,* to Southampton; where they found the bigger ship come from

This was about 22nd of July. [W. B.]

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* The date of the arrival of the *Speedwell* at Southampton is not stated: but four days would be a fair allowance for a *quick* passage of a 60 tons vessel, from Delfshaven. If so, as she sailed on Saturday 22 July /1 August, she would have joined the *Mayflower* on the following Wednesday 26 July /5 August.

We know for certainty, from page 343, that had not the *Speedwell* been leaky, the *Mayflower* was ready to sail on Saturday, 29 July /8 August:

London, lying ready, with all the rest of their Company.†

After a joyful welcome and mutual congratulations, with other friendly entertainments; they fell to parley about their business, How to despatch with the best expedition? as also with their Agents, about the alteration of the *Conditions*.

Master CARVER pleaded, He was employed here at [Sout]hampton; and knew not well what the others had done at London.

Master CUSHMAN answered, He had done nothing but what he was urged to, partly by the grounds of equity; and more especially by necessity: otherwise all had been dashed, and many undone. And in the beginning, he acquainted his fellow Agents [JOHN CARVER and CHRISTOPHER MARTIN] herewith: who consented unto him, and left it to him to execute; and to receive the money at London, and send it down to them at [Sout]hampton; where they made the provisions [*preparations*]. The which he accordingly did: though it was against his mind and [the minds of] some of the Merchants, that they were there made. And for giving them notice at Leyden of this change [? of arrangements]; he could not well, in regard of the shortness of the time. Again he knew it would trouble them, and hinder the business; which was already

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but the twice trimming of the *Speedwell* at Southampton delayed their departure for another week.

† The Rev. THOMAS PRINCE, who, in 1736, had access to documents now lost, adds here:

"who had been waiting there, with Master CUSHMAN, seven days." *A Chronological History of New England*, Part I., page 70, Ed. 1736. 8.

If this statement be correct; the *Mayflower* must have reached Southampton about the 19/29 July.

delayed over long, in regard of the season of the year; which we feared they would find to their cost.

But these things gave not content at present.

Master WESTON likewise came up from London, to see them despatched; and to have the *Conditions* confirmed.

But they refused, and answered him, That he knew right well that these were not according to the first *Agreement.* Neither could they yield to them without the consent of the rest that were behind: and indeed they had special charge, when they came away, from the Chief of those that were behind, not to do it.

At which, he was much offended; and told them, They must then look to stand on their own legs. So he returned in displeasure; and this was the first ground of discontent between them. And whereas there wanted well near £100 to clear things at their going away; he would not take order to disburse a penny: but let them shift as they could.

So they were forced to sell off some of their provisions to stop this gap: which was some three or four score firkins of butter; which commodity they might best spare, having provided too large a quantity of that kind.

Then they writ a letter to the Merchants and Adventurers, about the differences concerning the *Conditions*, as followeth:

August 3rd, *anno* 1620. [Southampton.]

Beloved friends. Sorry we are that there should be occasion of writing at all unto you: partly because we ever expected to see the most of you here; but especially because there should any difference at all be conceived between us. But seeing it falleth out that we cannot confer together: we think it meet, though

briefly, to shew you the just cause and reason of our differing from those *Articles* last made by ROBERT CUSHMAN, without our commission or knowledge. And though he might propound good ends, to himself: yet it no way justifies his doing it.

Our main difference is in the Fifth and Ninth *Articles*, concerning the dividing, or holding, of house and lands [*See pp.* 306, 307]: the injoying whereof, some of yourselves well know, was one special motive, amongst many others, to provoke us to go. This was thought so reasonable, that when the greatest [one] of you in adventure, whom we have much cause to respect, when he propounded *Conditions* to us, freely of his own accord, he set this down for one. A copy whereof we have sent unto you; with some additions then added by us: which being liked on both sides, and a day set for the payment of monies; those of Holland paid in theirs.

After that, ROBERT CUSHMAN, Master [JOHN] PEIRCE, and Master [CHRISTOPHER] MARTIN brought them into a better form; and writ them in a book now extant: and upon ROBARTS shewing them, and delivering Master [WILLIAM] MULLINS a copy thereof under his hand, which we have; he paid in his money.

And we of Holland had never seen other before our coming to [Sout]hampton; but only as one got, for himself, a private copy of them. Upon sight whereof, we manifested utter dislike: but [we] had put off our estates [*properties*], and were ready to come; and therefore [it] was too late to reject the Voyage [*Expedition*].

Judge therefore, we beseech you, indifferently [*impartially*] of things; and if a fault have been committed, lay it where it is, and not upon us! who have more cause to stand for the one, than you have for the other.

We never gave ROBERT CUSHMAN [a] commission to make any one *Article* for us: but only sent him to receive monies upon *Articles* before agreed on; and to further the provisions [*preparations*] till JOHN CARVER came, and to assist him in it.

Yet since you conceive yourselves wronged, as well as we [do]; we [have] thought meet to add a branch to the end of our Ninth *Article* as will almost heal that wound, of itself, which you conceive to be in it. But that it may appear to all men, that we are not lovers of ourselves only; but desire also the good and inriching of our friends, who have adventured your monies with our persons: we have added our last *Article* to the rest, promising

you again by letters in the behalf of the whole Company [at Southampton, and at Leyden],

> That if large profits should not arise within the Seven Years, that we will continue together longer with you ; if the LORD give a blessing.

It was well for them, that this was not accepted. [W.B.]

This, we hope, is sufficient to satisfy any in this case ; especially friends : since we are assured that if the whole charge [£1,700] were divided into four parts ; [the Adventurers] of three of them would not stand [*insist*] upon it, neither do regard it, *&c.*

We are in such a strait at present as we are forced to sell away £60 worth of our provisions, to clear the haven [*the port of Southampton*] ; and withal put ourselves upon great extremities : scarce having any butter, no oil, not a sole to mend a shoe, nor every man a sword to his side ; wanting many muskets, much armour, *&c.* And yet we are willing to expose ourselves to such eminent dangers as are like[ly] to insue, and trust to the good Providence of GOD rather than his name and truth should be evil spoken of, for us.

Thus saluting all of you in love ; and beseeching the LORD to give a blessing to our endeavour, and keep all our hearts in the bonds of peace and love ; we take leave : and rest

Yours *&c.*

August 3rd 1620.

It was subscribed with many names of the Chiefest of the Company. *Bradford MS.*, folios 93-97.

CHAPTER XXXIX

The Story of the *Speedwell*.

WE are indebted to Governor Bradford for the following information.

All things being now ready and every business dispatched, the Company was called together; and this letter [by the Rev. John Robinson, see pp. 401-406] read amongst them: which had good acceptation with all, and after fruit with many. Then they ordered and distributed their Company for either ship, as they conceived for the best: and chose a Governor, and two or three Assistants for each ship, to order the people by the way; and [to] see to the disposing of the provisions, and such like affairs. All which was not only with the liking of the Masters of the ships: but according to their desires. Which being done, they set sail from thence [*Southampton*], about the 5th of August [1620].

Being thus put to sea, they had not gone far; but Master Reynolds, the Master of the lesser ship, complained that he found his ship so leak[y] as he durst not put further to sea till she was mended. So the Master of the bigger ship, called Master Jones, being consulted with; they both resolved to put into Dartmouth, and have her there searched and mended: which accordingly was done, to their great charge; and loss of time, and [of] a fair wind. She was here thoroughly searched from stem to stern. Some leaks

were found and mended: and now it was conceived by the workmen and all, that she was sufficient; and [that] they might proceed without either fear or danger.

So with good hopes, from hence they put to sea again,* conceiving they should go comfortably on; not looking for any more lets [*hindrances*] of this kind: but it fell out otherwise. For after they were gone to sea again, above 100 leagues without [*beyond*] Land's End; holding company together all this while: the Master of the small ship complained [that] his ship was so leaky, as he must bear up, or sink at sea; for they could scarce free her with much pumping. So they [*i.e. Captains* JONES *and* REYNOLDS] came to [a] consultation again; and resolved [for] both ships to bear up back again, and put into Plymouth: which accordingly was done.

But no special leak could be found; but it was judged to be the general weakness of the ship, and that she would not prove sufficient for the voyage.

Upon which, it was resolved to dismiss her, and part of the Company; and [to] proceed with the other ship. The which, though it was grievous and caused great discouragement, was put in execution. So after they had took out such provision as the other ship could well stow, and concluded what number, and what persons, to send back; they made another sad parting: the one

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* Captain JOHN SMITH states:

They left the coast of England the 23rd of August, with about 120 persons: but, the next day, the lesser ship sprung a leak, that forced their return to Plymouth: where discharging her and twenty passengers, with the great ship and a hundred [*or more exactly* 102] persons, besides sailors, they set sail again the 6th of September. *New England's Trials*, 2nd Ed., 1622 4.

ship going back for London; and the other was to proceed on her voyage.*

Those that went back [*about* 18 *or* 20] were, for the most part, such as were willing so to do; either out of some discontent, or [the] fear they conceived of the ill success of the Voyage [*Expedition*]: seeing so many crosses befallen, and the year time so far spent. But others, in regard of their own weakness [of health] and charge of many young children, were thought least useful, and most unfit to bear the brunt of this hard adventure: unto which work of GOD and judgement of their bretheren, they were contented to submit. And thus, like GIDEON's army, this small number was divided: as if the LORD, by this work of his Providence, thought these few too many for the great work he had to do.

But here, by the way, let me show, how afterwards it was found that the leakiness of this ship was partly by [her] being overmasted, and too much pressed with sails. For after she was sold,† and put into her old trim; she made many voyages, and performed her service very sufficiently; to the great profit of her owners.

But more especially, by the cunning and deceit of the Master and his [ship's] company; who were hired to stay a whole year in the country: and now fancying dislike, and fearing want of victuals, they plotted this stratagem to free themselves; as afterwards was known, and by some of them confessed. For they apprehended

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* The names of the one hundred and two persons that finally left Plymouth in the *Mayflower* on 6/16 September 1620, will be found at pp. 364-380.—E. A.

† The *Speedwell* had been bought with Leyden money. The proceeds of her sale, after her return to London, would, of course, go to the credit of the common Joint Stock there.—E. A.

[*thought*] that the greater ship, being of force [*better manned and armed*] and in which most of the provisions were stowed; she would retain enough for herself, whatsoever became of them or the passengers: and indeed such speeches had been cast out by some of them. And yet, besides other incouragements, the Chief of them that came from Leyden went in this ship, to give the Master content. But so strong was self love and his fears, as he forgot all duty and former kindnesses, and dealt thus falsely with them; though he pretended otherwise.

Amongst those that returned was Master CUSHMAN and his family: whose heart and courage was gone from him before, as it seems; though his body was with them till now he departed. As may appear by a passionate [*heart-broken*] letter he writ to a friend in London from Dartmouth, whilst the ship lay there a mending: the which [as], besides the expressions of his own fears, it shows much of the Providence of GOD working for their good, beyond man's expectation; and other things concerning their condition in these straits: I will here relate it. And though it discover some infirmities in him (as who under temptation is free!): yet after this, he continued to be a special Instrument for their good; and to do the offices of a loving friend and faithful brother unto them, and partaker of much comfort with them. The letter is as followeth:

TO HIS LOVING FRIEND ED[WARD] S[OUTHWORTH] AT HENIGE HOUSE, IN THE DUKE PLACE [, LONDON], THESE.
DARTMOUTH; [THURSDAY,] AUGUST 17, *ANNO* 1620.

Loving friend. My most kind remembrance to you, and your wife, with loving E. M. *&c.*; whom in this world I never look to see again. For, besides the eminent [*imminent*] dangers of this Voyage which are no less than deadly, an infirmity of body hath

seized me which will not, in all likelihood, leave me till death. What to call it, I know not. But it is a bundle of lead, as it were crushing my heart more and more these 14 days [3—17 *August*], as that, although I do the actions of a living man, yet I am but as dead. But the will of GOD be done!

Our pinnace [, the *Speedwell*,] will not cease leaking; else, I think, we had been half way at Virginia. Our voyage hither hath been as full of crosses as ourselves have been of crookedness. We put in here to trim her; and I think, as others also, if we had stayed at sea but three or four hours more, she would have sunk right down. And though she was twice trimmed at [South]hampton; yet now she is as open and [as] leaky as a sieve: and there was a board, two feet long, a man might have pulled off with his fingers; where the water came in as at a mole hole.

We lay at [South]hampton seven days [30 *July*—5 *Aug.* 1620], in fair weather, waiting for her: and now we lie here waiting for her in as fair a wind as can blow, and so have done these four days [13—17 *August*]; and are like[ly] to lie four more [*they actually left on* 23 *August*], and by that time the wind will happily [*haply*] turn, as it did at [Sout]hampton. Our victuals will be half eaten up, I think, before we go from the coast of England; and, if our voyage last long, we shall not have a month's victuals when we come in the country.

Near[ly] £700 hath been bestowed [*spent*] at [Sout]hampton, upon what I know not. Master [CHRISTOPHER] MARTIN* saith, He neither can, nor will, give any account of it. And if he be called upon for accounts; he crieth out of unthankfulness for his pains and care, that we are suspicious of him: and flings away, and will end nothing. Also he so insulteth over our poor people [*the Leyden Pilgrims*], with such scorn and contempt, as if they were not good enough to wipe his shoes. It would break your heart to see his dealing, and the mourning of our people. They complain to me; and, alas, I can do nothing for them. If I speak to him, he flies in my face, as [if I were] mutinous; and saith, No complaints shall be heard or received but by himself: and saith, They are froward and waspish discontented people, and I do ill to hear them. There are others that would lose all they have put in, or make satisfaction for what they have had, that they might depart: but he will not hear them; nor suffer them to go ashore, lest they should run away.

* He was Governor in the bigger ship; and Master Cushman, Assistant. [W.B.]

The sailors also are so offended at his ignoraut boldness in meddling and controling in things he knows not what belongs to [them], as that some threaten to mischief him. Others say, They will leave the ship, and go their way. But at the best, this cometh of it, that he makes himself a scorn and [a] laughing stock unto them.

As for Master Weston, except grace do greatly sway with him, he will hate us ten times more than ever he loved us, for not confirming the *Conditions*. But now since some pinches have taken them, they begin to reveal the truth, and say, Master Robinson was in the fault,* who charged them never to consent to those *Conditions*, nor choose me into Office; but indeed appointed them to choose them they did choose. But he and they will rue too late. They may now see, and all be ashamed when it is too late, that they were so ignorant, yea, and so inordinate in their courses. I am sure as they were resolved not to seal those *Conditions*, I was not so resolute [? *as resolute*] at [South]hampton to have left the whole business, except they would seal them: and better the Voyage to have broken off then, than to have brought such misery to ourselves, dishonour to GOD, and detriment to our loving friends, as now it is like[ly] to do. Four or five of the Chief of them which came from Leyden, came resolved never to go on those *Conditions*.

* I think he was deceived in these things. [W. B.]

And Master [Christopher] Martin, he said, He never received no money on those *Conditions*! He was not beholden to the Merchants for a pin! They were bloodsuckers! and I know not what. Simple man! He indeed never made any *Conditions* with the Merchants, nor ever spake with them: but did [*made*] all that money [*the* £700] fly to [*at*] [Sout]hampton, or was it his own? Who will go and lay out money so rashly and lavishly as he did; and never know how he comes by it, or on what conditions?

Secondly, I told him of the alteration long ago, and he was content: but now he domineers, and said, I had betrayed them into the hands of slaves! He is not beholden to them! He can set out two ships himself to a voyage! when, good man! he hath but £50 in [the Venture]; and if he should give up his accounts, he would not have a penny left him [*i.e. of his own*],* as I am persuaded, *&c.* [*See page* 442.]

* This was found true afterward. [W. B.]

Friend, if ever we make a Plantation, GOD works a miracle! especially considering how scant we shall be of victuals; and, most of all, ununited amongst ourselves, and devoid of good tutors and

regiment [*leaders and organisation*]. Violence will break all. Where is the meek and humble spirit of MOSES? and of NEHEMIAH, who reedified the walls of Jerusalem, and the State of Israel? Is not the sound of REHOBOAM's brags daily heard amongst us? Have not the philosophers and all wise men observed that, even in settled Common Wealths, violent Governors bring, either themselves, or [the] people, or both, to ruin? How much more in the raising of Common Wealths, when the mortar is yet scarce tempered that should bind the walls?

If I should write to you of all things which promiscuously forerun our ruin, I should overcharge my weak head, and grieve your tender heart: only this I pray you, Prepare for evil tidings of us, every day! But pray for us instantly [*without ceasing*]! It may be the LORD will be yet intreated, one way or other, to make for us. I see not, in reason, how we shall escape, even the gasping of hunger-starved persons: but GOD can do much; and his will be done!

It is better for me to die, than now for me to bear it: which I do daily, and expect it hourly; having received the sentence of death both within me and without me. Poor WILLIAM KING and myself do strive who shall be meat first for the fishes; but we look for a glorious resurrection, knowing CHRIST JESUS after the flesh no more: but looking unto the joy that is before us, we will endure all these things, and account them light in comparison of that joy we hope for.

Remember me in all love to our friends, as if I named them: whose prayers I desire earnestly, and wish again to see [them]; but not till I can, with more comfort, look them in the face. The LORD give us that true comfort which none can take from us!

I had a desire to make a brief Relation of our estate to some friend. I doubt not but your wisdom will teach you seasonably to utter things, as hereafter you shall be called to it. That which I have written is true; and many things more, which I have foreborne. I write it, as upon my life and last confession in England. What is of use to be spoken of presently [*at once*], you may speak of it; and what is fit to conceal, conceal! Pass by my weak manner! for my head is weak, and my body feeble. The LORD make me strong in him, and keep both you and yours!

Your loving friend,

ROBERT CUSHMAN.

Dartmouth, August 17 1620.

Those being his conceptions and fears at Dartmouth; they must needs be much stronger, now at Plymouth. *Bradford MS.*, folios 101-109.

We have seen, at page 307, that the Pilot, who was to navigate the *Speedwell* to Southampton, had arrived at Leyden before the 31 May /10 June 1620. Therefore that vessel had been bought before that date. Governor BRADFORD tells us, at pp. 329, 330, that that ship had "been bought and *fitted* in Holland."

Now it was those members of the Leyden Church who were responsible for this *fitting* of the *Speedwell*, that were the proximate causes of most of the troubles on the voyage out; and of many of the deaths at Plymouth in New England, in the course of the following Spring. For they *overmasted* the vessel; and by so doing, strained her hull while sailing.

Then that cunning rascal, Captain REYNOLDS finding this out: all that he had to do, was to clap on all possible sail; and so to make the hull, as ROBERT CUSHMAN tells us it was, "[as] leaky as a sieve."

For this fatuous and supreme error of judgment in business matters, and all that came of it; the Leyden Church *alone* were responsible. No one in England had anything to do with it.

Imagine for a moment, what might have occurred had not the trim of the *Speedwell* been so unfortunately altered.

The *Mayflower* and the *Speedwell* would probably have left Southampton about the 30 July /9 August 1620; and would then have arrived at the Hudson river, in the following September/October. The whole course of the subsequent history of New England would have been entirely different from that which has actually occurred.

Most certainly the overmasting of the *Speedwell* during her refitting in Holland, in May—July 1620, is one of the Turning Points of modern history. What mighty events sometimes proceed from small causes!

CHAPTER XL

The Voyage of the *Mayflower* from Plymouth to Cape Cod. 6/16 September—11/21 November 1620.

GOVERNOR BRADFORD is our only authority for this Voyage which (including both day of departure and that of arrival) took sixty-seven days * and his account is far too brief,

September 6. These troubles being blown over, and now all being compact together in one ship; they put to sea again with a prosperous wind: which continued divers days together, and was some incouragement to them. Yet, according to the usual manner, many were afflicted with sea sickness.

And I may not omit here a special work of GOD's Providence. There was a proud and very profane young man, one of the seamen; of a lusty able body, which made him the more haughty. He would always be contemning the poor people in their sickness, and cursing them daily with grievous execrations, and [he] did not let [*stop*] to tell them, That he hoped to help to

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* Captain John Smith states:

But being pestered [*overcrowded*] nine weeks in this leaking unwholesome ship, lying wet in their cabins; most of them grew very weak, and weary of the sea. *New England's Trials*, 2nd Ed., 1622, 4.

cast half of them overboard before they came to their journey's end; and to make merry with what [property] they had. And if he were by any gently reproved, he would curse and swear most bitterly.

But it please GOD, before they came half [the] seas over, to smite this young man with a grievous disease; of which he died in a desperate manner and so [he] was himself the first that was thrown overboard. Thus his curses light[ed] on his own head: and it was an astonishment to all his fellows; for they noted it to be the just hand of GOD upon him.

After they had injoyed fair winds and weather for a season, they were incountered many times with cross winds; and met with many fierce storms; with which the ship was shrewdly shaken, and her upper works made very leaky. And one of the main beams in the midships was bowed and cracked; which put them in some fear that the ship could not be able to perform the voyage. So some of the Chief of the Company, perceiving the mariners to fear the sufficiency of the ship (as appeared by their mutterings), they entered into serious consultation with the Master and other Officers of the ship, to consider, in time, of the danger; and rather to return, than to cast themselves into a desperate and inevitable peril.

And truly there was great distraction and difference of opinion amongst the mariners themselves. Fain would they do what could be done, for their wages' sake; being now near[ly] half the seas over. On the other hand, they were loath to hazard their lives too desperately.

But in examining of all opinions, the Master and others affirmed, They knew the ship to be strong and

firm under water: and for the buckling [*fastening with a loop of iron*] of the main beam, there was a great iron screw [that] the passengers [had] brought out of Holland, which would raise the beam into his place. The which being done, the Carpenter and Master affirmed, That a post put under it, set firm in the lower deck; and otherways bound: he [*they*] would make it sufficient. And as for the decks and upper works, they would caulk them as well as they could: and though, with the working of the ship, they would not long keep staunch; yet there would otherwise be no great danger, if they did not overpress her with sails.

So they committed themselves to the will of GOD, and resolved to proceed.

In sundry of these storms, the winds were so fierce and the seas so high, as they could not bear a knot of sail: but were forced to hull [*drift about, without sails*] for divers days together.

And in one of them, as they thus lay at hull, in a mighty storm, a lusty young man, called JOHN HOWLAND, coming upon some occasion above the gratings, was with the seel [*roll* or *pitching*] of the ship thrown into the sea: but it pleased GOD that he caught hold of the topsail halliards, which hung overboard and ran out at length; yet he held his hold, though he was sundry fathoms under water, till he was hauled up, by the same rope, to the brim of the water; and then, with a boathook and other means, [was] got into the ship again, and his life saved. And though he was something ill with it: yet he lived many years after; and became a profitable member, both in Church and Common Wealth.

In all this voyage, there died but one of the passengers; which was WILLIAM BUTTEN, a youth, servant to [Doctor] SAMUEL FULLER; [and he died] when they drew near the coast [of New England].

But to omit other things, that I may be brief, after long beating at sea, they fell [in] with that land which is called Cape Cod: the which being made, and certainly known to be it; they were not a little joyful.

After some deliberation had amongst themselves, and with the Master of the ship; they tacked about, and resolved to stand for the Southward, the wind and weather being fair, to find some place about HUDSON'S river, for their habitation.

But after they had sailed that course about half the day, they fell amongst dangerous shoals and roaring breakers,* and they were so far intangled therewith, as they conceived themselves in great danger: and the wind shrinking [*failing*] * upon them withal, they † resolved to bear up again for the Cape; and thought themselves † happy to get out of those dangers before

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* The *Mayflower* probably made the Cape towards its northern extremity. The perilous shoals and breakers, among which she became entangled, after sailing above half a day south (or south-south-west, *as on page* 407), were undoubtedly those which lie off the south-eastern extremity of the Cape, near Monamoy Point. The Pollock Rip, the most considerable of these, corresponds to the "roaring breakers" mentioned by BRADFORD.

She may have also encountered the Great, and Little Round Shoals. It is not likely that she sailed far enough south, to fall in with the Bass Rip, or the Great Rip. Because she could reach these; the current and flood-tide probably drove her in between Monamoy Point and Nantucket.

Had the wind permitted her to pursue a southern course; she might, in a few hours, have found an opening, and passed safely to the westward. A. YOUNG, *Chronicles &c.*, p. 103, Ed. 1841, 8.

† It is quite clear from the wording of the text, that the Pilgrims

night overtook them, as by GOD's good Providence they did. And the next day [but one], they got into the Cape harbour; where they rid in safety.

A word or two, by the way, of this Cape. It was thus first named [Cape Cod] by Captain GOSNOLD and his Company,* *Anno* 1602.

* Because they took much of that fish there.

And after, by Captain [JOHN] SMITH was called [in 1616] Cape James: but retains the former name amongst seamen. Also the Point which first showed these dangerous shoals unto them, they [*Captain GOSNOLD's crew*] called Point Care,† and Tucker's Terror†: but the French and [the] Dutch, to this day, call it Malebarr, by reason of those perilous shoals, and the losses they have suffered there.

Being thus arrived in a good harbour, and brought safe to land; they fell upon their knees and blessed the GOD of heaven: who had brought them over the vast and furious ocean, and delivered them from all the perils and miseries thereof; again to set their feet on the firm and stable earth, their proper element. And no marvel if they were thus joyful, seeing wise SENECA was so affected with sailing a few miles on the coast of his own Italy, as he affirmed, That he had rather remain twenty years on his way by land, than pass by sea to any place in a short time; so tedious and dreadful was the same to him.

Epistle LIII.

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themselves decided what course the *Mayflower* was to take; consulting, of course, Captain JONES as to points of seamanship. It is also clear that Captain JONES fully assented to his ship going southward: and that they all rejoiced together, when they had successfully turned back.—E. A.

† Point Care is Monamoy Point; and Tucker's Terror is the Pollock Rip.—A. YOUNG, *as above.*

[THE OUTLOOK WHEN THE *MAYFLOWER* ANCHORED IN CAPE COD HARBOUR, ON 11TH NOVEMBER 1620.]

But here I cannot but stay and make a pause; and stand half amazed at this poor people's present condition. And so I think will the Reader too, when he well considers the same.

Being thus passed the vast ocean; and a sea of troubles before, in their preparation, as may be remembered by that which went before: they had now no friends to welcome them; nor inns to entertain or refresh their weather-beaten bodies; no houses, or much less towns, to repair to, to seek for succour.

It is recorded in Scripture, as a mercy to the Apostle and his shipwrecked company, that "the Barbarians shewed us no small kindness" in refreshing them, Acts xxviii. [Geneva Version]: but these savage barbarians, when they met with them, as after will appear, were readier to fill their sides full of arrows, than otherwise.

And for the season, it was winter: and they that know the winters of that country, know them to be sharp and violent, and subject to cruel and fierce storms; [and] dangerous to travel to known places, much more to search an unknown coast.

Besides, what could they see but a hideous and desolate wilderness, full of wild beasts and wild men; and what multitudes there might be of them, they knew not. Neither could they, as it were, go up to the top of Pisgah to view from this wilderness, a more goodly country to feed their hopes: for which way so ever they turned their eyes, save upward to the heavens, they could have little solace and content in respect of any outward objects.

For summer being done, all things stand upon them

with a weather-beaten face; and the whole country full of woods and thickets, represented a wild and savage hue.

If they looked behind them, there was the mighty ocean which they had passed; and [which] was now as a main bar and gulf to separate them from all the civil [*civilized*] parts of the world.

If it be said, They had a ship to succour them; it is true. But what heard they daily from the Master and [the ship's] company? But [*except*] that with speed they should look out a place, with their shallop, where they would be, at some near distance; (for the season was such, as he would not stir from thence, till a safe harbour was discovered by them, where they would be; and [to which] he might go without danger): and [also] that [the] victuals consumed apace; but he must, and would, keep sufficient for themselves; and [for] their return [to England]. Yea, it was muttered by some, That if they got not a place in time; they would turn them and their goods ashore, and leave them.

Let it also be considered, what weak hopes of Supply [*reinforcements*] and succour, they left behind them that might bear up their minds in this sad condition and trial they were under: and they could not but be very small. It is true, indeed, the affections and love of their brethren at Leyden were cordial and entire towards them; but they had little power to help them or themselves: and how the case stood between them and the Merchants, at their coming away, hath already been declared.

What could now sustain them, but the SPIRIT of GOD, and his grace?

May not, and ought not, the children of these fathers rightly say, Our fathers were Englishmen, which came over this great ocean, and were ready to perish in this wilderness: but they "cried unto the LORD, and he heard their voice, and looked on their adversity, *&c.*" Deut. xxvi. 7 [Geneva Version]. Let them therefore "praise the LORD, because he is good and his mercies endure for ever. Yea, let them which have been redeemed of the LORD, shew how he hath delivered them from the hand of the oppressor. When they wandered in the desert wilderness, out of the way; and found no city to dwell in. Both hungry and thirsty, their soul was overwhelmed in them. Let them confess before the LORD, his loving kindness; and his wonderful works, before the sons of men." Ps. cvii. 1, 2, 4, 5, 8 [Geneva Version; *but not quoted exactly*]. *Bradford MS.* folios 109-113.

CHAPTER XLI.

Who were the Pilgrim Fathers?

WHO were the Pilgrim Fathers?

The general answer to this must be:

All those members of the Separatist Church at Leyden, who voted for the migration to America; whether they were actually able to go there or not: together with such others as joined their Church from England.

Membership in the Pilgrim Church was the first qualification: intended, or actual, emigration to New England was the second one.

This general definition will include the Rev. John Robinson and his family; who were unable to leave Leyden. It also includes the 35 members of the Leyden Church who arrived, at Plymouth in New England, in the *Fortune*, in November 1621; the 60 who arrived, in the *Ann* and *Little James* in August 1623; the 35 with their families, who arrived in the *Mayflower* in August 1629; and the 60 who arrived in the *Handmaid*, in May 1630.

It likewise includes Christopher Martin and his wife, who joined from Billericay in Essex: and Richard Warren, and John Billington *sen.* and his family; who came from London.

It embraces also William King, who started from Southampton in the *Mayflower* on the 5th August 1620; but who, with Robert Cushman, returned back from the voyage, at Plymouth; see page 345.

It further includes hired men, such as John Howland, a Man-servant in Governor Carver's family; and John

ALDEN the Cooper: who both came out in the *Mayflower*, and eventually embracing the Pilgrim Cause, became honoured men among the Pilgrim Fathers.

On the other hand, it excludes all those members of the Pilgrim Church who had no wish to go to America. A List of some of these will be found at pp. 273-276.

It also excludes all hired men who went out in the *Mayflower*; and who did not become members of the Church in the Old Colony. So all the *Mayflower* passengers were not Pilgrim Fathers.

It likewise excludes THOMAS WESTON and all the seventy Adventurers, as such: for having Shares in the Joint Stock did not make them Pilgrim Fathers.

It further excludes (though it is *very* hard to make the exclusion) three of the four London Merchants, now known as the noble FRIENDS OF THE PILGRIMS; who were among the number of the Adventurers, and who also joined with the eight Undertakers of the Colony in the Composition of 15/25 November 1626: RICHARD ANDREWS, JOHN BEAUCHAMP, and JAMES SHIRLEY; but it includes the Fourth of these, TIMOTHY HATHERLEY, because he settled at Scituate about the year 1635.

The eight Colonial, and the four London, Undertakers of the Composition of 1626, were also called, The Purchasers.

Governor BRADFORD, writing in 1650, calls the passengers in the *Mayflower*, the Old Stock.

Doctor ALEXANDER YOUNG states, "Those who came in the first three ships the *Mayflower* [11/21 December 1620], the *Fortune* [9/19 November 1621], and the *Anne* [and *Little James*, August 1623], are distinctively called the OLD COMERS or FOREFATHERS." *Chronicles &c.*, page 352, Ed. 1841, 8.

For the names of *all* the Forefathers, and some account of what became of many of them, see the next two Chapters.

We also speak of the Pilgrim Church: meaning by that the Scrooby Congregation in their migrations to Amsterdam and Leyden; with the various accessions to their number in both those cities.

CHAPTER XLII.

The Passengers in the *Mayflower*; and what became of them.

VARIOUS numbers have, at different times, been given as to the number of the passengers that were on board the *Mayflower*, in her voyage to America in 1620. Those given by Captain John Smith, at page 324, are merely round numbers.

We will now proceed, on the authority of the *Bradford MS.*, to place this matter beyond any further dispute.

The reckoning all depends on the date in respect to which it is made.

The following Nominal List shows that One Hundred and Two persons left Plymouth in Devonshire, on board the *Mayflower*, on Wednesday 6/16 September 1620: and that number may therefore be regarded as final.

While at sea, 29. William Button died, and

103. Oceanus Hopkins was born.

So the number *on board at one time* was still 102, when the *Mayflower* first anchored in Cape Cod harbour on 11/21 November 1621; on which day, the Compact was signed.

The number of *different* individuals conveyed by the ship, was further increased to 104, between the 6th and 12th December, by the birth, in Cape Cod harbour, of

104. Peregrine White, the first Englishman born in New England; see page 426.

So 102 individuals actually left England, 1 died at sea, 2 were born on board, and 103 actually arrived in New England.

It will be noticed that Governor BRADFORD groups these 104 persons into (1) Households or Families, 24 in number; roughly arranged according to the Order of the Signatures in the Compact, see page 378: and (2) Single Men: whereas in the *Relation &c.*, see page 440 of this volume, we read that, on the afternoon of Thursday, 28 December /7 January 1620/1621,

"We went to measure out the grounds. And first, we took notice how many families there were: willing all single men, that had no wives, to join with some family as they thought fit, that so we might build fewer houses. Which was done; and we reduced them to nineteen families."

Let us now classify these 104 different individuals in accordance with the following Nominal List:

	Passengers in the *Mayflower*.			Died in the First Year.			The Survivors on 9/19 Nov. 1621.		
	Male.	Female.		Male.	Female.		Male.	Female.	
I. HOUSEHOLDS									
The Heads	24	—		13	—		11	—	
Their Wives	—	18		—	14		—	4	
Their Sons, or other Male relatives	13	—		3	—		10	—	
Their Daughters, or other Female relatives	—	7		—	—		—	7	
Their Male Servants	14	—		9	—		5	—	
One Female Servant	—	1		—	—		—	1	
II. SINGLE MEN	15	—		9	—		6	—	
ADULTS	66	+ 26	= 92	34	+ 14	= 48	32	+ 12	= 44
III. CHILDREN	9	+ 3	= 12	4	+ 1	= 5	5	+ 2	= 7
	75	+ 29	104	38	+ 15	= 53	37	+ 14	= 51

The almost entire destruction of the Wives is a most affecting fact. Did they sacrifice themselves for their children? For none of the Daughters died; and the 3 Sons who did, were in two families in which all the parents, there present, also died.

Of the twenty-four Households, four were completely obliterated by the sickness; which chiefly took the form of scurvy.

IX.	Master CHRISTOPHER MARTIN	containing	4 persons
XIX.	THOMAS TINKLER	,,	3 ,,
XX.	JOHN RIGDALE	,,	2 ,,
XXIII.	JOHN TURNER	,,	3 ,,
			12 ,,

Four other Households entirely escaped the infection.

XII.	Master STEPHEN HOPKINS	containing	8 persons.
XIII.	Master RICHARD WARREN	,,	1 person.
XIV.	JOHN BILLINGTON *sen.*	,,	4 persons.
XVII.	FRANCIS COOKE	,,	2 ,,
			15 ,,

Each of the remaining sixteen Households lost one, or more, of its members.

Of the 66 men who *embarked* on board the *Mayflower*, WILLIAM BUTTEN died at sea: so that the utmost possible number of signatures to the Compact in Cape Cod harbour, on the 11/21 November 1620, was SIXTY-FIVE: but only FORTY-ONE actually signed that document; whose names will be found at pp. 378-380, together with the names of the TWENTY-FOUR who did not sign.

Of the 53 who died, beginning with WILLIAM BUTTEN,
47 died before the *Mayflower* started homewards on 5/15 April 1621.
6 including Governor JOHN CARVER and Mistress KATHERINE CARVER, died after that date; and before the arrival of the *Fortune* on 9/19 November
— 1621. Governor BRADFORD, however, gives no hint
53 as to the names of the other four.

The names of 53 who died in the first year, are printed, in the following Nominal List, in Italics.

Of the 51 Survivors on the arrival of the *Fortune*; only 23 died by the year 1650, i.e. in the following twenty-nine years. The names of the 28, then alive, will be found on the next page.

Where Governor BRADFORD differs, in the spelling of personal names in this List, from that of the printed texts, or the accepted normal spelling; his spelling is given in Italics between square brackets, thus:

JOHN TILLEY [*TILLIE*].

THE NAMES OF THOSE WHICH CAME OVER FIRST, IN THE YEAR 1620, AND THEIR FAMILIES; AND WERE, BY THE BLESSING OF GOD, THE FIRST BEGINNERS, AND (IN A SORT) THE FOUNDATION, OF ALL THE PLANTATIONS AND COLONIES IN NEW ENGLAND.

Of these 100 [*or rather* 104] persons which came first over in this first ship together: the greater half [*actually* 53] died in the general mortality; and most of them in two or three months' time. And from those which survived (though some were ancient; and others left the place and country); yet of those few remaining, there are sprung up above 160 persons [*We make their number to be* 181], in this thirty years, and are now living in this present year 1650: besides many of their children which are dead, and come not within this account.

"And of the Old Stock [*i.e. the* Mayflower *passengers*], of one and another, there are yet living, in this present year 1650, near 30 persons.* Let the LORD have the praise! who is the high preserver of men.

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* The exact number would appear, from the following Nominal List, to be 28, as follows:

I. JOHN HOWLAND.
II. RICHARD MORE.
III. Gov. EDWARD WINSLOW.
GEORGE SOWLE.
IV. Gov. WILLIAM BRADFORD.
V. ISAAC ALLERTON.
BARTHOLOMEW ALLERTON
REMEMBER ALLERTON.
MARY ALLERTON.
VIII. Capt. MILES STANDISH.
X. PRISCILLA MULLINS.
XI. SUSANNA WHITE.
RESOLVED WHITE.
PEREGRINE WHITE.
XII. GILES HOPKINS.
CONSTANTA HOPKINS.
DAMARIS HOPKINS.
EDWARD DOTEY.
XIV. FRANCIS BILLINGTON.
XV. HENRY SAMSON.
XVI. ELIZABETH TILLEY.
XVII. FRANCIS COOKE.
JOHN COOKE.
XVIII. JOSEPH ROGERS.
XXI. MARY CHILTON.
XXII. SAMUEL FULLER.
XXIV. SAMUEL EATON.

———

JOHN ALDEN.

E. A.

These, being about a hundred souls, came over in this first ship; and began this work: which GOD, of his goodness, hath hitherto blessed. Let his holy name have the praise!

And seeing it hath pleased him to give me to see thirty years completed since these beginnings; and that the great works of his Providence are to be observed: I have thought it not unworthy my pains to take a View of the Decreasings and Increasings of these persons; and [of] such changes as hath passed over them and theirs in this thirty years. It may be of some use to such as come after: but, however, I shall rest in my own benefit. *Bradford MS.*, folios 526, 527, 530.

The passages between " ", are the exact words of Governor BRADFORD. The other information gives the substance of what he writes.

We must now introduce a most admirable Work to our Readers, *Ancient Landmarks of Plymouth* by the Hon. WILLIAM T. DAVIS, formerly President of the Pilgrim Society there; and published at Boston, Massa., in 1883, 8. Among many thousands of names; it contains those of all the residents at Plymouth down to 1700 A.D.; when the population was about a thousand souls. It also has most excellent plans. In the Hon. Mr DAVIS, we have one of the most sure-footed of local antiquaries: and, with regard to the subjects upon which it treats, his masterly Work leaves nothing further to be desired.

We have given, between square brackets, from Mr DAVIS's book, the dates of the death of many of the *Mayflower* passengers.

I.

1. *Governor* JOHN CARVER.

   He died at Plymouth, in April 1621.

2. *Mistress* KATHARINE CARVER, *his Wife.*

   She died at Plymouth, in June 1621.

3. DESIRE MINTER.

   She returned to her friends in England; and proved not very well, and died there.

4. JOHN HOWLAND, a Man-servant.

   He married ELIZABETH TILLEY, the daughter of JOHN TILLEY. "And they are both now living [in 1650]; and have 10 children now, all living. And their eldest daughter hath 4 children; and their second daughter 1: all living. So 15 are come of them." 15

   [He died at Plymouth, N.E., in 1673.—W. T. DAVIS.]

5. *ROGER WILDER, a Man-servant.*

   He died, in the first sickness, in Plymouth, in the Spring of 1621.

6. WILLIAM LATHAM, a servant boy.

   After more than twenty years stay in the Old Colony; he went into England, and from thence to the Bahama Islands: and there, with some others, was starved to death.

7. A Maid-Servant.

   She married at Plymouth; and died, a year or two after, there.

8. *JASPER MORE, a boy that was put to this family.*

   RICHARD MORE's brother. He died in Cape Cod harbour, on 6/16 December 1620.

15

II. 15

9. Master WILLIAM BREWSTER, the Ruling Elder.

He lived to a very old age. About eighty years he was, when he died [at Duxbury] on 10/20 April 1644: having lived some 23 or 24 years here in the country. "His daughters, which came over after him, are dead: but have left sundry children alive. His eldest son is still living [in 1650]; and hath 9 or 10 children: one married, who hath a child or 2." 11

10. Mistress MARY BREWSTER, his Wife.

His Wife died long before him [at Plymouth, before 1627]; yet she died aged.

11. LOVE BREWSTER, their son.

He lived till this year 1650: and dying [at Duxbury], left 4 children now living. 4

12. WRASTLE [*or* WRESTLING] BREWSTER, their son.

He died a young man unmarried.

13. RICHARD MORE, a boy that was put to this family.

"He is married, and hath [in 1650] 4 or 5 children, all living." 4

[He was afterwards called MANN; and died at Scituate, N.E., in 1656.—W. T. DAVIS.]

14. *? MORE, a boy that was put to this family.*

RICHARD MORE's brother. He died, in the first sickness, at Plymouth, in the Spring of 1621.

III.

15. Governor EDWARD WINSLOW.

His Wife died the first winter: and he married [SUSANNA] the Widow of Master WHITE; and hath [in 1650] 2 children, besides sundry that are dead. 2

He died at sea, in the West Indies, in 1655.

36

16. *Mistress* ELIZABETH WINSLOW, *his first Wife.* 36
She died, in the first sickness, at Plymouth, on 24 March /3 April 1621.

17. GEORGE SOWLE [or SOULE], a Man-servant.
"Is still [in 1650] living; and hath 8 children." 8
[He died at Duxbury, N.E., in 1680.—W. T. DAVIS.]

18. *ELIAS STORY, a Man-servant.*
He died, in the first sickness, at Plymouth, in the Spring of 1621.

19. *ELLEN MORE, a little girl that was put to this family.*
RICHARD MORE's sister. She died, in the first sickness, at Plymouth, in the Spring of 1621.

IV.

20. Governor WILLIAM BRADFORD.
His wife died soon after their arrival: and he married again, and hath [in 1650] 4 children; 3 whereof are married. 4
He died at Plymouth, N.E., on 9th May 1657, see p. 45.

21. *Mistress DOROTHY BRADFORD, his first Wife.*
She was drowned from on board the *Mayflower*, in Cape Cod harbour, on 7/17 December 1620.

V.

22. Master ISAAC ALLERTON.
"Himself married again with the daughter of Master BREWSTER; and hath 1 son living by her: but she is long since dead. And he is married again; and hath left this place [*Plymouth*] long ago." He had sons in England. 1
[He died at New Haven, N.E., in 1659.—W. T. DAVIS.]

49

23. *Mistress* MARY ALLERTON, *his Wife.* 49
She died, in the first sickness, at Plymouth, on the 25 February /7 March 1621.

24. BARTHOLOMEW ALLERTON, their son.
"Is married in England; but I know not how many children he hath."

25. REMEMBER ALLERTON, their daughter.
"Is married at Salem [, N. E.]; and hath [in 1650] 3 or 4 children living." 3
[She married MOSES MAVERICK; and died at Salem, N.E., after 1652.—W. T. DAVIS.]

26. MARY ALLERTON, their daughter.
"Is married at Plymouth; and hath [in 1650] 4 children." 4
[She married THOMAS CUSHMAN; and died at Plymouth, N.E., in 1699.—W. T. DAVIS. She was the last survivor of those *who left England* in the *Mayflower*.]

27. *JOHN HOOKE, a servant boy.*
He died, in the first sickness, at Plymouth, in the Spring of 1621.

VI.

28. SAMUEL FULLER, the Deacon, and Surgeon.
"After his Wife came over, he had 2 children by her; which are [in 1650] living, and grown up in years. But he died some fifteen years ago. 2
[He died at Plymouth, N.E., in 1633.—W. T. DAVIS.]

29. *WILLIAM BUTTEN, a Man-servant.*
He died on board the *Mayflower* at sea; "near the coast" of New England, on 6/16 November 1620.

VII.

30. *Master JOHN CRACKSTON* [CRAKSTON] *sen.*
He died, in the first sickness, at Plymouth, in the Spring of 1621.

58

31. JOHN CRACKSTON [*CRAKSTON*] *jun.* 58

"And about five or six years after [in 1628], his son died [at Plymouth]. Having lost himself in the woods, his foot became frozen; which put him into a fever, of which he died."

VIII.

32. Captain MILES STANDISH.

"He married again: and hath 4 sons living [in 1650]; and some are dead." Who died 3rd October 1655. 4
[He died at Duxbury, N.E., in 1656.—W. T. DAVIS.]

33. *Mistress ROSE STANDISH, his Wife.*

She died, in the first sickness, at Plymouth, on 29 January /8 February 1621.

IX.

34. *Master CHRISTOPHER MARTIN, the Treasurer.*

He came from Billericay in Essex, see page 308. He died, in the first sickness, on board the *Mayflower*, at Plymouth, on 8/18 January 1621. See pp. 343, 344, 442.

35. *Mistress ? MARTIN, his Wife.*

She died, in the first sickness, at Plymouth in the Spring of 1621.

36. *SOLOMON PROWER, a Man-servant.*

He died, in the first sickness, at Plymouth, on 24 December /3 January 1620/1621.

37. *JOHN LANGEMORE, a Man-servant.*

He died, in the first sickness, at Plymouth, in the Spring of 1621. The Sixth and last who died in December 1620.

X.

38. *Master WILLIAM MULLINS.*

He died, in the first sickness, at Plymouth, on 21 February /3 March 1620/1621.

39. *Mistress ? Mullins, his Wife.* 62
She died, in the first sickness, at Plymouth, in the Spring of 1621.

40. *Joseph Mullins; their son, a child.*
He died, in the first sickness, at Plymouth, in the Spring of 1621.

41. Priscilla Mullins; their daughter, a child.
"Married with John Alden: who are both [in 1650] living, and have 11 children. And their eldest daughter is married, and hath 5 children." 16
[She died at Duxbury, N.E., after 1650.—W. T. Davis.]

42. *Robert Carter, a Man-servant.*
He died, in the first sickness, at Plymouth, in the Spring of 1621.

XI.

43. *Master William White.*
He died, in the first sickness, at Plymouth, on 21 February /3 March 1620/1621.

44. Mistress Susanna White, his Wife.
She afterwards married Governor Edward Winslow.
[She died at Marshfield, N.E., in 1680.—W. T. Davis.]

45. Resolved White, their son.
He married, "and hath [in 1650] 5 children." 5
[He died at Salem, N.E., after 1680.—W. T. Davis.]

104. Peregrine White, their son, an infant.
He was born on board the *Mayflower*, in Cape Cod harbour, in December 1630. He was the first Englishman born in New England.
He married; and hath [in 1650] 2 children. 2
[He died at Marshfield, N.E., on 20th July 1704.]

85

46. *William Holbeck, a Man-servant.* 85

He died, in the first sickness, at Plymouth, in the Spring of 1621.

47. *Edward Thompson, a Man-servant.*

He died on board the *Mayflower*, in Cape Cod harbour, on 4/14 December 1620. He was the first that died after the Pilgrims arrived in New England.

XII.

48. Master Stephen Hopkins.

He came from London, see page 427.
Master Hopkins and his Wife are now [in 1650] both dead. But they lived twenty years in this place [*Plymouth*]: and had 1 son (who became a seaman and died at Barbadoes) and 4 daughters born here. 5
[He died at Plymouth, N.E., in 1644.—W. T. Davis.]

49. Mistress Elizabeth Hopkins.

[She died at Plymouth, N.E., after 1640.—W. T. Davis.]

[*Two children by his former Wife.*]

50. Giles Hopkins, his son.

"Is married, and hath [in 1650] 4 children." 4
[He died at Yarmouth, N.E., in 1690.—W. T. Davis.]

51. Constanta [*or* Constance] Hopkins, his daughter.

"Is also married, and hath 12 children: all of them [in 1650] living, and one of them married." 12
[She married Nicholas Snow; and died at Eastham, N.E., in 1677.—W. T. Davis.]

[*Two more children, by his Wife Elizabeth.*]

52. Damaris Hopkins, their daughter.

[She married Jacob Cooke, of Plymouth, N.E.; and died there, between 1666 and 1669.—W. T. Davis.]

103. *Oceanus Hopkins, their son, an infant.* 106
He was born on board the *Mayflower*, at sea.
[He died at Plymouth, N.E., in 1621.—W. T. Davis.]

53. Edward Dotey [*Doty*], a Man-servant.
"By a second Wife, hath 7 children: and both he and they are living [in 1650]." He came from London, see page 427. 7
[He died at Yarmouth, N.E., in 1655.—W. T. Davis.]

54. Edward Leister [*Litster*], a Man-servant.
"After he was at liberty [*i.e. had served his time*], went to Virginia; and died there."

XIII.

55. Master Richard Warren.
He came from London, see page 427. His Wife and children were left behind; and came afterwards.
His Wife came over to him; by whom he had 2 sons before he died: and one of them is married, and hath 2 children.
"But he had 5 daughters more, [who] came over with his Wife: who are all married, and living [in 1650]; and have many children."
[He died at Plymouth, N.E., in 1628.—W. T. Davis.]

XIV.

56. John Billington [*Billinton*] *sen.*
"He, and some of his, had been often punished for miscarriages before; being one of the profanest families amongst them. They came from London: and I know not, by what friends, shuffled into their Company." *Bradford MS.*, folio 342.
He was hanged in October 1630, for the murder of John Newcomen.

57. Ellen Billington, his Wife.
[She married Gregory Armstrong, in 1638.—W. T. Davis.]

58. JOHN BILLINGTON, *jun.*, their son. 117
He died before his father was executed in October 1630.

59. FRANCIS BILLINGTON, their son.
"Is married, and hath 8 children [in 1650]." 8
[He died at Yarmouth, N.E., after 1650.—W. T. DAVIS.]

XV.

60. *Master EDWARD TILLEY* [TILLIE].
He died, in the first sickness, at Plymouth, in the Spring of 1621.

61. *ANN TILLEY, his Wife.*
She died, in the first sickness, at Plymouth, in the Spring of 1621.

61. HENRY SAMSON, their cousin, a child.
"Is still living [in 1650]; and is married, and hath 7 children." 7
[He died at Duxbury, N.E., in 1684.—W. T. DAVIS.]

63. HUMILITY COOPER, their cousin, a child.
She "was sent for into England; and died there."

XVI.

64. *Master JOHN TILLEY* [TILLIE].
He died, in the first sickness, at Plymouth, in the Spring of 1621.

65. *Mistress ? TILLEY, his Wife.*
She died, in the first sickness, at Plymouth, in the Spring of 1621.

66. ELIZABETH TILLEY, their daughter.
She married JOHN HOWLAND.
[She died at Plymouth, N.E., in 1687.—W. T. DAVIS.]

XVII.

67. FRANCIS COOKE. 132

"He is still living [in 1650], a very old man; and hath seen his children's children have children.

"After his Wife came over, with others of his children; he hath [had] 3, still living, by her: all married, and have 5 children. So their increase is 8." 8

[He died at Plymouth, N.E., in 1663.—W. T. DAVIS.]

68. JOHN COOKE, his son.

"Is married; and hath four children living [in 1650]." 4

[He died at Dartmouth, N.E., after 1694.—W. T. DAVIS.]

XVIII.

69 *THOMAS ROGERS.*

He died, in the first sickness, at Plymouth, in the Spring of 1621.

The rest of THOMAS ROGERS's children came over afterwards; and are married, and have many children.

70. JOSEPH ROGERS, his son.

"Is married; and hath 6 children [in 1650]." 6

[He died at Eastham, N.E., in 1678.—W. T. DAVIS.]

XIX.

71. *THOMAS TINKER.*

He died, in the first sickness, at Plymouth, in the Spring of 1621.

72. *? TINKER, his Wife.*

She died, in the first sickness, at Plymouth, in the Spring of 1621.

73. *? TINKER, their son.*

He died, in the first sickness, at Plymouth, in the Spring of 1621.

XX.

74. *John Rigdale.*

He died, in the first sickness, at Plymouth, in the Spring of 1621.

75. *Alice Rigdale, his Wife.*

She died, in the first sickness, at Plymouth, in the Spring of 1621.

XXI.

76. *James Chilton.*

[He died on board the *Mayflower*, in Cape Cod harbour, on 8/18 December 1620.—W. T. Davis.]
They had another daughter, that was married; who came afterwards.

77. ? *Chilton, his Wife.*

She died, in the first sickness, at Plymouth, in the Spring of 1621.

78. Mary Chilton, their daughter.

"Is still living [in 1650], and hath 9 children; and one daughter [of them] is married, and hath a child. So their increase is 10."
[She married John Winslow (Gov. E. Winslow's brother); and died at Boston, N.E., in 1679.—W. T. Davis.]

c

XXII.

79. *Edward Fuller.*

He died, in the first sickness, at Plymouth, in the Spring of 1621.

80. ? *Fuller, his Wife.*

She died, in the first sickness, at Plymouth, in the Spring of 1621.

81. SAMUEL FULLER, their son, a young child. 166

"Is living [in 1650], and married; and hath 4 children, or more." 4

[He died at Barnstable, N.E., in 1683.—W. T. DAVIS.]

XXIII.

82. *JOHN TURNER.*

He died, in the first sickness, at Plymouth, in the Spring of 1621.

"He had a daughter [who] came, some years after, to Salem [N.E.]; where she is now [*in* 1650] living, well married, and approved of."

83. ? *TURNER, his son.*

He died, in the first sickness, at Plymouth, in the Spring of 1621.

84. ? *TURNER, his son.*

He died in the first sickness, at Plymouth, in the Spring of 1621.

XXIV.

85. FRANCIS EATON.

He married again; and his second Wife died. And he married the third; and had by her 3 children. One of them is married, and hath a child. The others are living. He died about sixteen years ago. 4

[He died, at Plymouth. N.E., in 1633.—W. T. DAVIS.]

86. *SARAH EATON, his Wife.*

She died, in the first sickness, at Plymouth, in the Spring of 1621.

87. SAMUEL EATON, their son, a sucking child.

"Is also married, and hath a child [in 1650]." 1

[He died at Middleborough, N.E., in 1684.—W. T. DAVIS.]

"All these died soon after their arrival, in the general sickness that befel; and left no posterity here." 175

88. *Moses Fletcher.*

89. *Thomas Williams.*

90. *John Goodman.*

91. *Edmund Margeson.*

92. *Richard Britteridge.*
He died on board the *Mayflower*, in Plymouth harbour, on 21/31 December 1620. The first who dies in this harbour.

93. *Richard Clarke.*

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94. *Degory Priest.*
He died, in the first sickness, at Plymouth, on 1/11 January 1620/21.
"His Wife and children [were] sent hither afterwards: she being Master [Isaac] Allerton's sister." [See page 162.]

95. Richard Gardiner.
"Became a seaman; and died in England, or at sea."

96. Gilbert Winslow.
He was another of Governor E. Winslow's brothers.
"After divers years' abode here; he returned into England, and died there."

97. Peter Browne.
He "married twice. By his first Wife, he had 2 children: who are living [in 1650], and both of them married; and the one of them hath 2 children.
"By his second wife, he had 2 more." 6
[He died at Plymouth, N.E., in 1633.—W. T. Davis.]

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[*Next follow, the five hired men.*] 181

98. JOHN ALDEN.

"Was hired for a Cooper at Southampton, where the ship [the *Mayflower*] victualled: and, being a hopeful young man, was much desired; but [was] left to his own liking, to go, or stay, when he came here.
"But he stayed, and married here.
"JOHN ALDEN married with PRISCILLA, Master MULLINS his daughter."
[He died at Duxbury, N.E., in 1687.—W. T. DAVIS.]

99. *JOHN ALLERTON, a sailor.* [*See page* 427.]

He was a hired man; but was reputed one of the Company [*i.e. of the Pilgrim Fathers*]: but was to go back, being a seaman, for the help of the others behind.
He however died, in the first sickness, at Plymouth, before the *Mayflower* departed homewards on 5/15 April 1621.

100. *THOMAS ENGLISH, a sailor.* [*See page* 427.]

He was hired to the Master of a shallop at Plymouth. He, however, died there, in the first sickness, before the *Mayflower* departed homewards on 5/15 April 1621.

"There were also other two seamen hired to stay a year in the country:

101. WILLIAM TREVORE, a sailor,

102. ? ELLIS, a sailor.

But, when their time was out, they both returned."

181

Bradford MS., folios 526-530.

We have now to show the connection of the above Nominal List, containing the names of 66 Males, exclusive of Children, with the 41 Signers of the Compact at Cape Cod harbour, on the 11/21 November 1620.

Nathanial Morton, who had evidently seen the original document, gives the names of the Signers at pp. 15, 16, of his *New England Memorial*, 1669, 4, in the following order. It is a scandalous disgrace to the Officials of the Old Colony, that so precious a document as the Compact should ever have been lost.

[These were evidently the Chief of the Pilgrim Fathers, at this date.—E.A.]

1.	*John Carver*	I.	1.
2.	William Bradford	IV.	20.
3.	Edward Winslow	III.	15.
4.	William Brewster	II.	9.
5.	Isaac Allerton	V.	22.
6.	Miles Standish	VIII.	32.
7.	John Alden	—	98.
8.	Samuel Fuller	VI.	28.
9.	*Christopher Martin*	IX.	34.
10.	*William Mullins*	X.	38.
11.	*William White*	XI.	43.
12.	Richard Warren	XIII.	55.
13.	John Howland	I.	4.
14.	Stephen Hopkins	XII.	48.
15.	*Edward Tilley*	XV.	60.
16.	*John Tilley*	XVI.	64.
17.	Francis Cooke	XVII.	67.
18.	*Thomas Rogers*	XVIII.	69.
19.	*Thomas Tinker*	XIX.	71.
20.	*John Rigdale*	XX.	74.
21.	*Edward Fuller*	XXII.	79.
22.	*John Turner*	XXIII.	82.
23.	Francis Eaton	XXIV.	85.

24.	*James Chilton*	XXI.	76.
25.	*John Crackston*	VII.	30.
26.	John Billington [*sen.*]	XIV.	56.
27.	*Moses Fletcher*	—	88.
28.	*John Goodman*	—	90.
29.	*Degory Priest*	—	94.
30.	*Thomas Williams*	—	89.
31.	Gilbert Winslow	—	96.
32.	*Edmund Margeson*	—	91.
33.	Peter Browne	—	97.
34.	*Richard B[r]itteridge*	—	92.
35.	George Soule	III.	17.
36.	*Richard Clarke*	—	93.
37.	Richard Gardiner	—	95.
38.	*John Allerton*	—	99
39.	*Thomas English*	—	100.
40.	Edward Dotey	XII.	53.
41.	Edward Leister	XII.	54.

We have next to account for the 25 Males, who did not sign the Compact.

One had died already.

42.	*William Butten*	VI.	29.

Then evidently the signatures of the fathers covered the allegiance of their sons, 13 in number; as follows:

43.	Love Brewster	II.	11.
44.	Wrastle Brewster	II.	12.
45.	Bartholomew Allerton	V.	24.
46.	John Crackston *jun.*	VII.	31.
47.	Resolved White	XI.	45.
48.	Giles Hopkins	XII.	50.
49.	John Billington *jun.*	XIV.	58.

50.	FRANCIS BILLINGTON	XIV.	59.
51.	JOHN COOKE	XVII.	68.
52.	JOSEPH ROGERS	XVIII.	70.
53.	? *TINKER*	XIX.	73.
54.	? *TURNER*	XXIII.	83.
55.	? *TURNER*	XXIII.	84.

The following Male Servants, Men and Youths, did not sign the Compact:

56.	*ROGER WILDER*	I.	5.
57.	WILLIAM LATHAM	I.	6.
58.	*ELIAS STORY*	III.	18.
59.	*JOHN HOOKE*	V.	27.
60.	*SOLOMON PROWER*	IX.	36.
61.	*JOHN LANGEMORE*	IX.	37.
62.	*ROBERT CARTER*	X.	42.
63.	*WILLIAM HOLBECK*	XI.	46
64.	*EDWARD THOMPSON*	XI.	47.

As eight of these nine persons soon died, they may have been too ill to sign.

Lastly, we have the two temporarily hired sailors.

65.	WILLIAM TREVORE	—	101.
66.	? ELLIS	—	102.

CHAPTER XLIII.

The Forefathers, or Old Comers. 1620—1623.

THE authority for their names is the *Records of the Colony of New Plymouth in New England;* printed, in twelve volumes, at Boston, Massa., 1861, 4. Vol. XII. (Deeds, Vol. I.), edited by Mr David Pulsifer, contains the following information:

"The Record, in Governor Bradford's handwriting, of *The Meersteads and Garden Plots laid out in* 1620, or to the pages containing the record, mainly by the same hand, of the Allotments of land in 1623. These pages have every appearance of having been written in the years mentioned in the record."

THE MEERSTEADS AND GARDEN PLOTS OF [THOSE] WHICH CAME FIRST, LAID OUT [IN DECEMBER] 1620.

[*The Sea, on the East side.*]

The North side. | *The South side.*

Peter Browne.
John Goodman.
Master William Brewster.

Highway [*to the Town Brook*].

The Street [*: now Leyden street*].

John Billington [*sen.*].
Master Isaac Allerton.
Francis Cooke.
Edward Winslow.

[*The Mount, afterwards Fort Hill, on the West side.*]

Governor BRADFORD, writing of the Spring of 1623, says: "All this while, no Supply [*reinforcement*] was heard of: neither knew they when they might expect any.

So they began to think how they might raise as much corn [*maize*] as they could; and obtain a better crop than they had done: that they might not still thus languish in misery.

At length, after much debate of things; the Governor [WILLIAM BRADFORD], with the advice of the Chiefest amongst them, gave way [*agreed*]

> That they should set corn, every man for his own particular [*individual use*]; and, in that regard, [to] trust to themselves. In all other things, to go on in the general [*joint-stock*] way, as before.

And so [he] assigned to every family a parcel of land, according to the proportion of their number, for that end; only for present use: but made no division for inheritance. And ranged all boys and youths under some family.

This had very good success. For it made all hands very industrious; so as much more corn was planted than other ways would have been, by any means the Governor or any others could use: and saved him a great deal of trouble, and gave far better content. The women now went willingly into the field, and took their little ones with them, to set corn; which before would alledge weakness and inability: whom to have compelled would have been thought great tyranny and oppression." *Bradford MS.*, folio 193.

See also Governor WINSLOW's account of this transaction at pp. 575-577.

The following Heading is the earliest authority in existence, that the of the Pilgrim ship of 1620 was the *Mayflower*.

THE FALLS [BY LOT] OF THEIR GROUNDS; WHICH CAME FIRST OVER IN THE *MAY-FLOWER*: ACCORDING AS THEIR LOTS WERE CAST, [IN MARCH] 1623 [SEE PAGE 576].

These lie on the South side of he [Town] Brook; to the Bay-wards [i.e. between Sandwich street and the harbour.—W. T. Davis].

Robert Cushman	1	the number [of] acres to [each] one.
Master William Brewster	6	
William Bradford	3	
Richard Gardiner	1	
Francis Cooke	2	
George Soule	1	
Master Isaac Allerton	7	
John Billington [*sen.*]	3	
Peter Browne	1	
Samuel Fuller	2	
Joseph Rogers	2	

These contain 29 acres.

These lie on the South side of the [Town] Brook; to the Wood-ward: opposite to the former [including what is now Watson's Hill.—W. T. Davis].

John Howland	4
Stephen Hopkins	6
Edward	1
Edward	1
Gilbert Winslow	1
Samuel Fuller *junior*	3

These contain 16 acres: besides Hobamak's ground; which lieth between John Howland's and Hopkins's.

These 5 acres lieth behind the Fort to the Little Pond [*i.e. between the Burial Hill and Murdock's Pond.*—W. T. Davis].	William White [He had been dead three years.]	5	the number [of] acres to [each] one.
	Edward Winslow	4	
These lie on the north side of the town; next adjoining to their gardens [of those] *which came in the* Fortune. [*i.e. between t and the harbour.*—W. T. Davis].	Richard Warren	[2]	
	John Goodman	×	
	John Crackston	×	
	John Alden	×	
	Mary Chilton	×	
	Captain Miles Standish	2	
	Francis Eaton	4	
	Henry Samson	1	
	Humility Cooper	1	

THE FALLS [BY LOT] OF THEIR GROUNDS, WHICH CAME IN THE *FORTUNE*: ACCORDING AS THEIR LOTS WERE CAST, [IN MARCH] 1623 [See page 576].

This ship came November 1621.

[*On the North side of the Town.*]

These lie to the sea, Eastward.

WILLIAM HILTON	1
JOHN WINSLOW	1
WILLIAM CONNER	1
JOHN ADAMS	1
WILLIAM TENCH and JOHN CANNON	2

These following lie beyond the Second Brook [, Westward].

HUGH STATIE	1
WILLIAM BEALE and THOMAS CUSHMAN	2
AUSTEN NICHOLAS	1
Widow FOORD	4
	15

[*It should be* 14] acres.

These lie beyond the First Brook, to the Wood, Westward.

WILLIAM WRIGHT and WILLIAM PITT	2
ROBERT HICKES	1
THOMAS PRENCE	1
STEVEN DEAN	1
MOSES SIMONSON and PHILIPPE DE LA NOYE	2
EDWARD BOMPASS	1
CLEMENT BRIGGES	1
JAMES STEWARD	1
WILLIAM PALMER	2
JONATHAN BREWSTER	1
BENET MORGAN	1
THOMAS FLAVELL and his son.	2
THOMAS MORTON	1
WILLIAM BASSITE	2
	19

acres.

THE FALLS [BY LOT] OF THEIR GROUNDS, WHICH CAME OVER IN THE SHIP CALLED THE *ANNE* [, AND IN THE *LITTLE JAMES*]: ACCORDING AS THEIR [LOTS] WERE CAST, [IN THE AUTUMN OF] 1623.

[These 45 acres were situated on both sides of Cold Spring Brook.—W. T. Davis.]

These to the sea, Eastward.

	acres.		acres.
James Rande	1	Francis Spragge [*or rather* Sprague]	3

These following lie beyond the [Town] Brook, to Strawberry Hill [now called *Watson's Hill*].

Edmund Flood	1	Edward Burcher	2
Christopher Connant	1	John Jenings [*or rather* Jenney]	5
Francis Cooke	4	Goodwife Flavell	1
		Manasseh Fa[u]nce and John Fa[u]nce	2

These [a]but against the Swamp and [the] Reed Pond.

GEORGE MORTON and EXPERIENCE MI[T]CHELL } 8

CHRISTIAN PENN 1

THOMAS MORTON *junior* } 1

WILLIAM HILTON's Wife and two children } 3

These goeth in with a corner by the Pond.

ALICE [SOUTHWORTH, *afterwards*] BRADFORD } 1

ROBERT HICKES, his Wife and children } 4

BRIDGET FULLER 1

ELLEN NEWTON 1

PATIENCE [BREWSTER], and FEAR BREWSTER, with ROBERT LONG } 3

WILLIAM HEARD 1

Mistress [BARBARA] STANDISH [, The Captain's second Wife.] } 1

These following lie on the other [*, the east,*] *side of the Town ; towards the Eel River.*

[These 50 acres were located on both sides of the Wellingsly Brook.—W. T. Davis.]

Mary Buckett; adjoining to Joseph Rogers	1	Robert Ratcliffe, beyond the swampy and stony ground	[2]
Master [John] Oldham, and those joined with him	10	*These [a]but against Hob's Hole.*	
Cuthbert Cuthbertson	6	Nicholas Snowe	×
Anthony An[n]able	4	Anthony Dix	×
Thomas Tilden	3	Master Pe[i]rce's two servants	×
Richard Warren	5		
[Edward] Bangs	4	Ralfe Wal[l]en	×

South.		*North.*	
Stephen Tracy, three acres	3	Edward Holman, one acre	1
Thomas Clarke, one acre	1	Frances [Palmer] Wife to William Palmer one acre	1
Robert Bartlet, one acre	1		
		Joshua Pratt and Phineas Pratt	2

CHAPTER XLIV.

That the Dutch could not have bribed Captain Jones of the *Mayflower*, 1620.

We have seen, at page 315, that, on Saturday, 10/20 June 1620, Robert Cushman and Thomas Weston, at London, had not even seen the *Mayflower*, of 180 tons: but that they were then thinking of a vessel of 120 tons; which they hoped to look over and charter on the following Monday, 12/22 of that month.

The hiring of the *Mayflower*, when they did do it, was also their act alone; and the Leyden Church had nothing whatever to do with it.

We have also seen, at page 331, that the *Speedwell*, of 60 tons, left Delfshaven on Saturday, 22 July /1 August 1620: and, at page 334, she probably arrived at Southampton on the following Wednesday, 26 July /5 August; where she found the bigger ship *waiting* for her. The *Mayflower* must therefore have left London some days earlier.

If then the Dutch (by which we are to understand no one else but the New Netherland Company; resident at either the Hague, or at Amsterdam) bribed Captain Jones; it must have been at some time in the forty-eight days between that 10/20 June and that 26 July /1 August. Further, we must assume it to have been done at London; and not at Southampton, under the watchful eyes of the Pilgrim Fathers.

Again, if Prince be correct, see page 335, he states that

the *Mayflower* had already been at Southampton seven days. This would reduce the above period, in which the supposed bribery must have been effected, to the forty-one days from 10/20 June to 19/29 July 1620.

Let us now quote NATHANIEL MORTON's account of this supposed Plot.

Nevertheless, it is to be observed, that their putting into this place [*Cape Cod harbour*], was partly by reason of a storm by which they were forced in [*This is not a strictly accurate statement*]; but more especially by the fraudulency and contrivance of the aforesaid Master JONES, Master of the ship.

Of this Plot betwixt the Dutch and Master JONES; I have had late [*in* 1669] and certain intelligence. [N. M.]

For their intention, as is before noted, and his engagement, was to Hudson's river: but some of the Dutch, having notice of their intentions; and having thoughts, about the same time, of erecting a Plantation there likewise [*This is flatly contradicted by Sir DUDLEY CARLETON's Report to the Privy Council, on* 5/15 *February* 1621/1622; *fifteen months* after *Captain JONES's supposed act of betrayal: see pp.* 299], they fraudulently hired the said JONES (by delays while they were in England; and now under pretence of danger of the shoals, &c.) to disappoint them in their going thither. *New England's Memorial*, page 12, Ed. 1669, 4.

We have seen, at page 346, that the delays off the English coast arose *entirely* from the overmasting of the *Speedwell*; and the cunning use that that scoundrel, Captain REYNOLDS, made of that fact.

A careful reading of Governor BRADFORD's account, at page 356, of "the Pilgrims" turning back at the "dangerous

shoals and roaring breakers" of the Pollock Rip, will show that the alarm on board the *Mayflower* at that time, was no pretence; but a very real thing indeed. They "thought themselves happy to get out of those dangers before night overtook them."

The Captains of those days were but rough sea dogs, at the best: but all we know of the Master of the *Mayflower* goes to show that he was both fair-minded and friendly towards the Pilgrim Fathers. See pp. 417-420, 442, 448-450.

CHAPTER XLV.

That Captain Jones of the *Mayflower* was not the Captain Thomas Jones of the *Discovery*.

THE Christian name of the Captain of the *Mayflower* is not known. It has been sometimes said that he was the disreputable and piratical Captain Thomas Jones of the *Discovery*; but this seems not to be the case, for the two following reasons:

1. The Rev. Doctor E. D. Neill tells us that at

A Quarter Court, 21 November /1 December 1621, Commissions were granted for Fishing and Trade, among others, to

Captain Thomas Jones, Master of the *Discovery*, of 60 tons. *History of the Virginia Company*, page 261, Ed. 1869, 4.

Now the *Mayflower* was of 180 tons; and it is very unlikely that its Captain would afterwards take charge of a vessel one-third of its size. It would have been a kind of professional degradation to have done so.

2. Governor Bradford writes:

Behold now another Providence of GOD. A ship comes into the harbour, one Captain Jones being chief therein. They were set out by some Merchants, to discover all the harbours between this and Virginia, and the shoals of Cape Cod; and to trade along the coast where they could. *Bradford MS.*, folios 181-183.

Now it is quite impossible that Governor Bradford, who had been in the closest possible friendly intercourse with the Captain of the *Mayflower* for the seven months from the 6th September 1620 till the 5th April 1621, could ever after have designated him as "one Captain Jones."

It may be interesting to trace the career of this Captain JONES up to his death: the more so because he carried JOHN PORY as a Passenger.

The *Discovery* left London at the end of November 1621; and did not arrive at James Town, Virginia, till April 1622. It was in August 1622, that she arrived at New Plymouth.

The following documents tell the rest of this Story:

THE MINUTES OF THE COUNCIL FOR NEW ENGLAND.
TUESDAY, 17/27 DECEMBER 1622.

At the Tower [of London].

Sir FERDINANDO GORGES.	Captain THOMAS LOVE,
Sir ALLEN APSLEY.	assisted by
Sir SAMUEL ARGALL.	Captain CHUDLEY.

Whereas the Council are informed by LEONARD PEDDOCK, That Captain JONES (who was employed by the Company of Virginia to fish upon the coasts of New England) hath, this last year [1622], robbed the natives there, of their furs; and offered [*attempted*] to carry some of them away prisoners: but, being grounded upon the sands near Cape Cod, the savages escaped; and made great exclamation against the present Planters of New England. For punishment whereof, Sir FERDINANDO GORGES is desired to signify this abuse, by letter from the Council, to [HENRY WRIOTHESLEY,] the Earl of SOUTHAMPTON [, Treasurer of the Virginia Company].

S. P. *Colonial.* Vol. I.

JOHN CHAMBERLAIN TO SIR DUDLEY CARLETON.
LONDON; SATURDAY, 26 JULY /5 AUGUST 1623.

Our old acquaintance, Master PORY, is in poor case, and in prison at the Terceiras [=*the Azores*]: whither he was driven by contrary winds from the north coast of Virginia, where he had been upon some discovery; and, upon his arrival [at Terceira], was arraigned, and in danger to be hanged for a pirate.

S. P. Dom. *James 1.* Vol. 149, No. 48.

GOVERNOR SIR FRANCIS WYATT AND THE COUNCIL OF VIRGINIA, TO THE LORDS COMMISSIONERS FOR THE AFFAIRS OF VIRGINIA [IN LONDON].

JAMES CITY; MONDAY, 3/13 JANUARY 1625.

About the middle of July last]1624], arrived Captain JONES, in a Spanish frigate, which he had taken in the West Indies; under the Commission of the States [General], as he pretended, granted to Captain POWELL: from whose consortship he separated himself, and put in here for relief; his vessel being very leaky, and her victuals spent. She brought in no prize [*plunder*], but some few raw hides; which, by negligence, lay sunk in the ship, and were spoiled. Himself died shortly after [July 1624].

And since his death, there are rumours risen, contrary to their first Examinations, of mutinies and disorders committed by Captain JONES and some of his [ship's] company against Captain POWELL: of which, perhaps, we may have more light from England, or the Low Countries; according to which, we may the better know how to proceed, since we conceive the substance of their acts against the Spaniards are not now too strictly to be questioned.

S. P. *Colonial.* Vol. IV., No. 1.

A

Relation, or Journal,

of the

Beginning and Proceedings

of the

English Plantation settled at Plymouth, in New England;

by certain English Adventurers, both Merchants and others.

With
their difficult Passage; their safe Arrival; their joyful building of, and comfortable planting themselves in, the now well-defended Town of New Plymouth.

As also
a Relation of Four several Discoveries, since made by some of the same English Planters there resident.

I. In a journey to Puckanokick, the habitation of the Indians' greatest King, MASSASOYT; as also their Message, [and] the Answer and entertainment they had of him.

II. In a voyage made by ten of them to the Kingdom of Nawset, to seek a boy that had lost himself in the woods: with such accidents as befell them in that voyage

III. In their journey to the Kingdom of Namaschet, in defence of their greatest King, MASSASOYT, against the Narrohiggonsets; and to revenge the supposed death of their interpreter TISQUANTUM.

IV. Their voyage to the Massachusets, and their entertainment there.

With
an Answer to all such Objections as are any way made against the lawfulness of English Plantations in those parts.

LONDON.

Printed for JOHN BELLAMIE, and are to be sold at his shop at the *Two Greyhounds*, in Cornhill, near the Royal Exchange.

1622.

To his much respected friend,
Master I. P.

GOOD friend. As we cannot but account it an extraordinary blessing of GOD in directing our course for these parts, after we came out of our native country; for that we had the happiness to be possessed of the comforts we receive by the benefit of one of the most pleasant, most healthful, and most fruitful parts of the world: so must we acknowledge the same blessing to be multiplied upon our whole Company, for that we obtained the honour to receive allowance and approbation of our free possession and enjoying thereof, under the authority of those thrice honoured persons, the President and Council for the Affairs of New England. By whose bounty and grace, in that behalf, all of us are tied to dedicate our best service unto them; as those, under His Majesty, that we owe it unto: whose noble endeavours in these their actions, the GOD of heaven and earth multiply to his glory, and their own eternal comforts!

As for this poor *Relation*, I pray you to accept it, as being writ by the several Actors themselves, after their plain and rude manner: therefore doubt nothing of the truth thereof. If it be defective in anything, it is their ignorance; that are better acquainted with planting than writing. If it satisfy those that are well affected to the business; it is all I care for.

Sure I am, the place we are in, and the hopes that are apparent, cannot but suffice any that will not desire more than enough; neither is there want of ought

[*aught*] among us but company, to enjoy the blessings so plentifully bestowed upon the inhabitants that are here.

While I was a writing this, I had almost forgot, that I had but the recommendation of the *Relation* itself to your further consideration: and therefore I will end without saying more; save that I shall always rest

Yours, in the way of friendship,

R. G.

From Plymouth in
New England.

To The Reader.

COURTEOUS Reader. Be intreated to make a favourable construction of my forwardness in publishing these insuing Discourses. The desire of carrying the Gospel of CHRIST into those foreign parts, amongst those people that as yet have had no knowledge, nor taste, of GOD; as also to procure unto themselves and others, a quiet and comfortable habitation: were, amongst other things, the inducements unto these undertakers of the then hopeful, and now experimentally known good, enterprise for Plantation in New England, to set afoot and prosecute the same.

And though it fared with them, as it is common to the most actions of this nature, that the First Attempts prove difficult, as the sequel more at large expresseth; yet it hath pleased GOD, even beyond our expectation in so short a time, to give hope of letting some of them see—though some he hath taken out of this Vale of Tears—some grounds of hope of the accomplishment of both those ends, by them at first propounded.

And as [I] myself then much desired, and shortly hope to effect (if the LORD will!), the putting to of my shoulder in this hopeful business: and in the mean time, these *Relations* coming to my hand from my both known and faithful friends, on whose writings I do much rely; I thought it not amiss to make them more general, hoping of a cheerful proceeding, both of Adventurers and Planters. Intreating that the example

of the Honourable Virginia and Bermudas Companies (incountering with so many disasters, and that for divers years together, with an unwearied resolution; the good effects whereof are now eminent) may prevail as a spur of preparation also, touching this no less hopeful country, though yet an infant: the extent and commodities whereof are as yet not fully known, [but which] after time will unfold more.

Such as desire to take knowledge of things, may inform themselves by this insuing Treatise: and, if they please, also by such as have been there a first and [a] second time [*i.e. in the* Mayflower*; and also in the* Fortune].

My hearty prayer to GOD is, That the event of this, and all other honourable and honest undertakings, may be for the furtherance of the Kingdom of CHRIST; the inlarging of the bounds of our Sovereign Lord King JAMES; and the good and profit of those who, either by purse, or person, or both, are agents in the same.

So I take leave, and rest

Thy friend,

G. MOURT.

Certain useful Advertisements sent in a Letter written by a discreet Friend unto the Planters in New England, at their first setting sail from Southampton; who earnestly desireth the prosperity of that, their new, Plantation.

OVING and Christian friends. I do heartily, and in the Lord, salute you all: as being they with whom I am present in my best affection, and most earnest longings after you; though I be constrained, for a while, to be bodily absent from you. I say, constrained: GOD knowing how willingly and much rather than otherwise, I would have borne my part with you in this first brunt; were I not, by strong necessity, held back for the present. Make account of me, in the mean while, as of a man divided in myself, with great pain; and as, natural bonds set aside, having my better part with you.

And though I doubt not but, in your godly wisdoms, you both foresee, and resolve upon, that which concerneth your present state and condition; both severally and jointly: yet have I thought [it] but my duty, to add some further spur of provocation unto them who run already; if not because you need it, yet because I owe it in love and duty.

And first, as we are daily to renew our repentance with our GOD; special, for our sins known; and general, for our unknown trespasses: so doth the LORD call us, in a singular manner, upon occasions of such difficulty and danger as lieth upon you, to a both more narrow search, and careful reformation, of our ways in his sight; lest he (calling to remembrance our sins forgotten by us, or unrepented of) take advantage against us; and, in judgement, leave us for the same to be swallowed up in one danger or other. Whereas, on the contrary, sin being taken away by earnest repentance, and pardon thereof from the LORD sealed up unto a man's conscience by his SPIRIT: great shall be his security and peace in all dangers; sweet, his comforts in all distresses; with happy deliverance from all evil, whether in life or in death.

Now next after this heavenly peace with GOD and our own consciences, we are carefully to provide for peace with all men, what in us lieth; especially with our associates: and, for that end, watchfulness must be had, that we neither at all in ourselves do give; no, nor easily take, offence, [it] being given by others. Woe be unto the World for offences! For though it be necessary (considering the malice of SATAN, and man's corruption) that offences come: yet woe unto the man, or woman, either by whom the offence cometh! saith CHRIST, Matthew xviii. 7. And if offences, in the unseasonable use of things in themselves indifferent, be more to be feared than death itself, as the Apostle teacheth, 1 Cor. ix. 15: how much more in things simply evil; in which neither honour of GOD, nor love of man, is thought worthy to be regarded.

Neither yet is it sufficient that we keep ourselves, by the grace of GOD, from giving offence[s]; except withal, we be armed against the taking of them, when they are given by others. For how unperfect and lame is the work of grace in that person who wants charity [wherewith] to cover a multitude of offences, as the Scriptures speak.

Neither are you to be exhorted to this grace, only upon the common grounds of Christianity; which are, That persons ready to take offence, either want charity to cover offences; or wisdom duly to weigh human fraility; or lastly, are gross, though close, hypocrites, as CHRIST our LORD teacheth, Matthew vii. 1-3. As indeed, in mine own experience, few or none have been found, which sooner give offence, than such as easily take it: neither have they ever proved sound and profitable members in societies, which have nourished in themselves that touchy humour.

But, besides these, there are divers special motives provoking you, above others, to great care and conscience this way.

As, first, you are, many of you, strangers as to the persons, so to the infirmities, one of another: and so stand in need of more watchfulness this way, lest when such things fall out in men and women as you suspected not, you be inordinately affected [*upset*] with them: which doth require, at your hands, much wisdom and charity for the covering and preventing of incident offences that way.

And, lastly, your intended course of Civil Community [*setting up the authority of a State*] will minister continual occasion of offence, and will be as fuel for that fire; except you diligently quench it with brotherly forbearance. And if taking offence

causelessly, or easily, at men's doings be so carefully to be avoided: how much more heed is to be taken that we take not offence at GOD himself; which yet we certainly do, so oft as we do murmur at his Providence in our crosses, or bear impatiently such afflictions as wherewith he pleaseth to visit us. Store we up therefore patience against the evil day! without which, we take offence at the LORD himself in his holy and just works.

A fourth thing there is carefully to be provided for, to wit, That with your common employments, you join common affections, truly bent upon the general good: avoiding (as a deadly plague of your both common and special comfort) all retiredness of mind for proper advantage [*individual self-seeking*], and all singularly affected any manner of way. Let every man repress in himself; and the whole body, in each person (as so many rebels against the common good), all private respects of men's selves! not sorting with the general conveniency. And as men are careful not to have a new house shaken with any violence before it be well settled, and the parts firmly knit: so be you, I beseech you brethren, much more careful that the House of GOD, which you are and are to be, be not shaken with unnecessary novelties, or other oppositions, at the first settling thereof.

Lastly, whereas you are to become a Body Politic, using amongst yourselves Civil Government; and are not furnished with any persons of special eminency above the rest, to be chosen by you into Office of Government: let your wisdom and godliness appear, not only in choosing such persons as do entirely love,

and will diligently promote, the common good; but also in yielding unto them all due honour and obedience in their lawful administrations. Not beholding in them, the ordinariness of their persons; but GOD's ordinance for your good: nor being like unto the foolish multitude; who more honour the gay coat, than either the virtuous mind of the man, or [the] glorious ordinance of the LORD.

But you know better things: and that the Image of the LORD's power and authority, which the Magistrate beareth, is honourable in how mean persons soever. And this duty you both may the more willingly, and ought the more conscionably to perform; because you are, at least for the present, to have only them for your ordinary Governors, which yourselves shall make choice of for that work.

Sundry other things of importance I could put you in mind of, and of those before mentioned, in more words; but I will not so far wrong your godly minds, as to think you heedless of these things: there being also divers among you so well able to admonish both themselves and others, of what concerneth them.

These few things therefore, and the same in few words, I do earnestly commend unto your care and conscience: joining therewith my daily incessant prayers unto the LORD, that he (who hath made the heavens and the earth, the sea and all rivers of waters; and whose Providence is over all his works, especially over all his dear children for good) would so guide and guard you in your ways (as inwardly by his SPIRIT; so outwardly by the hand of his power) as that both you, and we also for and with you, may have after

matter of praising his name, all the days of your, and our, lives.

Fare you well in him! in whom you trust, and in whom I rest

An unfeigned well-willer
of your happy success
in this hopeful voyage,
I. R. [John Robinson.]

A

Relation, or Journal,

of the Proceedings of the Plantation settled at Plymouth in New England.

WEDNESDAY, the sixth of September [1620], the wind coming East North East, a fine small gale, we loosed from Plymouth; having been kindly intertained and courteously used by divers friends there dwelling: and, after many difficulties in boisterous storms, at length, by GOD's Providence, upon the 9th of November following, by break of the day, we espied land; which we deemed to be Cape Cod, and so afterward it proved. And the appearance of it much comforted us: especially seeing so goodly a land, and wooded to the brink of the sea; it caused us to rejoice together, and praise GOD that had given us once again to see land.

And thus we made our course south-south-west, purposing to go to a river ten leagues to the south of the Cape: but, at night, the wind being contrary, we put round again for the Bay of Cape Cod. And upon the 11th of November, we came to an anchor in the Bay: which is a good harbour and [a] pleasant Bay; circled round, except in the entrance, which is about four miles over from land to land; compassed about [*encircled*] to the very sea, with oaks, pines, juniper sassafras, and other sweet wood[s]. It is a

harbour wherein a thousand Sail of ships may safely ride.

There we relieved ourselves with wood and water, and refreshed our people; while our shallop was fitted to coast [*sail along the shore of*] the Bay, to search for a [place of] habitation.

There was [there] the greatest store of fowl that ever we saw. And, every day, we saw whales playing hard by us. Of which, in that place, if we had [had] instruments and means to take them; we might have made a very rich return: which [instruments], to our great grief, we wanted. Our Master and his Mate, and others experienced in fishing, professed we might have made £3,000 or £4,000 worth of oil. They preferred it before Greenland whale-fishing; and purpose, the next winter [1621—1622], to fish for whale here.

For cod, we assayed; but found none. There is good store, no doubt, in their season.

Neither got we any fish all the time we lay there; but some few little ones on the shore. We found great mussels, and very fat and full of sea pearl[s]: but we could not eat them; for they made us all sick that did eat, as well sailors as passengers. They caused to cast [*vomit*] and scour [*purge*]. But they were soon well again.

The Bay [*i.e. Provincetown harbour*] is so round and circling that, before we could come to anchor, we went round all the points of the compass. We could not come near the shore, by three-quarters of an English mile; because of shallow water: which was a great prejudice to us. For our people, going on shore, were forced to wade a bow-shot or two, in going aland; which caused many to get colds and coughs: for it was, many times, freezing cold weather.

This day, before we came to harbour, observing some not well affected to unity and concord; but gave some appearance of faction: it was thought good there should be an Association and Agreement that we should combine together in one body; and to submit to such Government and Governors as we should, by common consent, agree to make and choose: and [we] set our hands to this that follows, word for word.

IN the name of GOD, Amen. We, whose names are underwritten, the loyal subjects of our dread Sovereign Lord King JAMES*; by the grace of GOD, of Great Britain, France, and Ireland King; Defender of the Faith; &c.*

Having undertaken for the glory of GOD, and advancement of the Christian faith, and honour of our King and country, a Voyage [Expedition] *to plant the first Colony in the northern parts of Virginia;* [*we*] *do, by these presents, solemnly and mutually, in the presence of GOD and one of another, covenant and combine ourselves together into a Civil Body Politic, for our better ordering and preservation; and furtherance of the ends aforesaid: and, by virtue hereof, to enact, constitute, and frame such just and equal laws, ordinances, acts, constitutions, Offices, from time to time, as shall be thought most meet and convenient for the general good of the Colony; unto which, we promise all due submission and obedience.*

*In witness whereof, we have hereunder subscribed our names.** *Cape Cod, 11th of November, in the year of the*

* This Compact was signed by forty-one, out of the sixty-five adult male passengers then on board the *Mayflower*. See the names of those who signed, and of those who did not, at pp. 378-380.—E. A.

reign of our Sovereign Lord King JAMES, *of England France and Ireland* 18; *and of Scotland* 54. Anno Domini 1620.

The same day, so soon as we could, we set ashore fifteen or sixteen men, well armed; with some to fetch wood, for we had none left: as also to see what the land was; and what inhabitants they could meet with.

They found it to be a small neck of land. On this side, where we lay, is the Bay; and [on] the further side, the sea. The ground or earth [consists of] sandhills, much like the downs [*dunes*] of Holland: but much better. The crust of the earth, [at] a spit's depth [*i.e. below the sand*], excellent black earth: all wooded with oaks, pines, sassafras, juniper, birch, holly, vines, some ash, walnut. The wood for the most part open, and without underwood; fit either to go, or ride, in.

At night, our people returned; but found not any person, nor habitation: and laded their boat with juniper, which smelled very sweet and strong; and of which we burnt, the most part of the time we lay there.

Monday, the 13th of November, we unshipped our shallop, and drew her on land, to mend and repair her: having been forced to cut her down, in bestowing [*stowing*] her betwixt the decks; and she was much opened, with the people's lying in her. Which kept us long there: for it was sixteen or seventeen days before the Carpenter had finished her.

Our people went on shore to refresh themselves; and our women to wash [*i.e. to wash clothes in fresh water*], as they had great need.

[THE FIRST DISCOVERY.]

But whilst we lay thus still, hoping our shallop

would be ready in five or six days, at the furthest; but our Carpenter made slow work of it, so that some of our people, impatient of delay, desired, for our better furtherance, to travel by land into the country (which was not without appearance of danger; not having the shallop with them, nor means to carry provision[s] but on their backs), to see, Whether it might be fit for us to seat [*settle*] in or no. And the rather, because as we sailed into the harbour, there seemed to be a river opening itself into the main land.

The willingness of the persons was liked: but the thing itself, in regard of the danger, was rather permitted than approved.

And so, with cautions directions and instructions, sixteen men were set out, with every man his musket, sword, and corslet, under the conduct of Captain MILES STANDISH: unto whom, were adjoined for council and advice, WILLIAM BRADFORD, STEPHEN HOPKINS, and EDWARD TILLEY.

Wednesday, the 15th of November [1620], they were set ashore; and when they had ordered themselves in the order of a Single File, and [had] marched about the space of a mile, by the sea they espied five or six people with a dog coming towards them; who were savages; who, when they saw them, ran into the wood; and whistled the dog after them, &c. First, they supposed them to be Master JONES, the Master, and some of his men; for they were ashore, and knew of their coming: but after they knew them to be Indians, they marched after them, into the woods; lest other of the Indians should lie in ambush.

But when the Indians saw our men following them, they ran away with might and main: and our men turned out of the wood after them, for it was the way

they intended to go; but they could not come near them. They followed them that night about ten miles, by the trace [*track*] of their footings; and saw how they had come the same way they went: and, at a turning, perceived how they [had] run up a hill, to see whether they followed them.

At length, night came upon them; and they were constrained to take up their lodging. So they set forth three sentinels; and the rest, some kindled a fire, and others fetched wood: and there [we] held our randevous [= *rendezvous* = *encampment*] that night.

In the morning [, of Thursday, the 16th November], so soon as we could see the trace, we proceeded on our journey; and had the track until we had compassed the head of a long creek [*East Harbour Creek*]: and there they took into another wood, and we after them; supposing to find some of their dwellings. But we marched through boughs and bushes, and under hills and valleys, which tore our very armour in pieces: and yet could meet with none of them, nor their houses; nor find any fresh water, which we greatly desired, and stood in need of. For we brought neither beer, nor water with us; and our victuals were only biscuit and Holland cheese, and a little bottle of *Aqua vitæ* [*brandy*]: so as we were sore athirst.

About ten a clock, we came into a deep valley [*East Harbour, in Truro*], full of brush, wood-gaile [*bay-berry*], and long grass; through which we found little paths or tracts: and there we saw a deer and found springs of fresh water; of which we were heartily glad, and sat us down and drank our first New England water with as much delight as ever we drank drink in all our lives.

When we had refresh ourselves, we directed our

course full south, that we might come to the shore [of the Bay]: which, within a short while after, we did; and there made a fire that they in the ship might see where we were, as we had direction; and so marched on towards this supposed river.

And, as we went into another valley, we found a fine clear pond of fresh water [*called Fresh Water Pond at page* 415. *Now Pond Village, in Truro*] being about a musket-shot broad, and twice as long. There grew also many small vines: and [wild] fowl and deer haunted there. There grew much sassafras [there].

From thence, we went on, and found much plain ground, about fifty acres, fit for the plow; and some signs where the Indians had formerly planted their corn.

After this, some thought it best, for nearness of the river, to go down and travel on the sea-sands: by which means some of our men were tired, and lagged behind.

So we stayed, and gathered them up; and struck into the land again: where we found a little path to certain heaps of sands [*now the village of Great Hollow*]. One whereof was covered with old mats, and had a wooden thing, like a mortar, whelmed [*arched over*] on the top of it; and an earthen pot laid in a little hole at the end thereof. We, musing what it might be, digged, and found a bow: and, as we thought, arrows; but they were rotten. We supposed that there were many other things: but, because we deemed them graves, we put in the bow again, and made it up as it was, and left the rest untouched; because we thought it would be odious unto them to ransack their sepulchres.

We went on further, and found new stubble, of which they had gotten corn this year; and many

walnut [*mockernut hickory*] trees, full of nuts; and great store of strawberries [*strawberry vines*]; and some vines [*grape vines*].

Passing thus a field or two, which were not great; we came to another, which had also been newly gotten [in]: and there we found where a house had been, and four or five old planks laid together [*They called this place Cornhill, see page* 419. *It is now called Hopkins's Cliff. This hill is between Great Hollow, and Hopkins's Creek or the Pamet Little River*]. Also we found a great kettle; which had been some ship's kettle, and [had been] brought out of Europe.

There was also a heap of sand, made like the former; but it was newly done. We might see how they had paddle [*smoothed*, or *struck*] it with their hands. Which we digged up: and in it we found a little old basket full of fair Indian corn [*maize*]. And [we] digged further, and found a fine great new basket, full of very fair corn of this year; [together] with some 36 goodly ears of corn, some yellow, and some red, and others mixed with blue; which was a very goodly sight. The basket was round, and narrow at the top. It held about three or four bushels; which was as much as two of us could lift up from the ground, and was very handsomely and cunningly made. But whilst we were busy about these things, we set our men [as] sentinel[s] in a round ring; all but two or three, which digged up the corn.

We were in suspense what to do with it, and the kettle: and, at length, after much consultation, we concluded to take the kettle and as much of the corn as we could carry, away with us. And when our shallop came, if we could find any of the people, and come to parley with them; we would give them the kettle again, and satisfy them for their corn.

So we took all the [36] ears; and put a good deal of the loose corn in the kettle, for two men to bring away on a staff. Besides, they that could put any into their pockets, filled the same. The rest, we buried again: for we were so laden with armour, that we could carry no more.

Not far from this place, we found the remainder of an old fort or palizado; which, as we conceived, had been made by some Christians.

This was also hard by that place which we thought had been a river; unto which we went, and found it so to be; dividing itself into two arms by a high bank [*now called Old Tom's Hill, in Indian Neck*] standing right by the cut, or mouth, which came from the sea. That which was next unto us was the less [*Hopkins's Creek, or North Branch, or Pamet Little River*]; the other arm was more than twice as big, and not unlike[ly] to be a harbour for ships [*Pamet River, or Pamet Creek, or Pamet Harbour*]. But whether it be a fresh river, or only an indraught of the sea, we had no time to discover: for we had commandment to be out but two days. Here also we saw two canoas [*canoes*]: the one on the one side [of the river]; and the other, on the other side. We could not believe it was a canoa till we came near it.

So we returned, leaving the further discovery hereof to our shallop; and came that night back to the Fresh Water Pond; and there we made our randevous that night, making a great fire, and a barricado [*barricade. An improvised screen of logs, stakes, and boughs*] to windward of us; and kept good watch, with three sentinels, all night, every one standing when his turn came; while five or six inches of Match [*slow-burning match-cord*] were burning. It proved a very rainy night.

In the morning [of Friday, the 17th November], we took our kettle; and sunk it in the Pond; and trimmed our muskets, for few of them would go off because of the wet: and so coasted [*skirted*] the wood again to come home, in which we were shrewdly puzzled, and lost our way.

As we wandered, we came to a tree where a young sprit [*sprout* or *shoot* of wood] was bowed down over a bow, and some acorns strewed underneath. STEPHEN HOPKINS said, It had been to catch some deer. So as we* were looking at it, WILLIAM BRADFORD being in the rear, when he came, looked also upon it: and as he went about, it gave a sudden jerk up; and he was immediately caught by the leg. It was a very pretty device, made with a rope of their own making; and having a noose as artificially [*cunningly*] made as any roper [*rope-maker*] in England can make, and as like ours as can be: which we brought away with us.

In the end, we got out of the wood; and were fallen about a mile too high above the creek. Where we saw three bucks; but we had rather have had one of them. We also did spring three couple of partridges: and, as we came along by the creek, we saw great flocks of wild geese and ducks; but they were very fearful of us.

So we marched some while in the woods, some while on the sands, and other while in the water up to the knees, till, at length, we came near the ship; and then we shot off our pieces, and the long boat came to fetch us. Master JONES and Master CARVER, being on the shore, with many of our people, came to meet us.

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* Clearly this narrative of the First Discovery was not written by Governor BRADFORD; but probably by Governor WINSLOW.—E. A.

And thus we came, both weary and welcome, home; and delivered in our corn into the store, to be kept for seed; for we knew not how to come by any, and therefore [we] were very glad; purposing so soon as we could meet with any of the inhabitants of that place, to make them large satisfaction.

This was our First Discovery.

Whilst our shallop was in repairing; our people did make things as fitting as they could, and time would, in seeking out wood, and helving of tools, and sawing of timber, to build a new shallop: but the discommodiousness of the harbour did much hinder us. For we could neither go to, nor come from, the shore but at high water; which was much to our hindrance and hurt. For oftentimes they waded to the middle of the thigh, and oft to the knees, to go [to], and come from, land. Some did it necessarily, and some for their own pleasure: but it brought to the most, if not to all, coughs and colds (the weather proving suddenly cold and stormy), which afterward turned to the scurvy; whereof many died.

[THE SECOND DISCOVERY.]

When our shallop was fit (indeed before she was fully fitted; for there was two days' work after bestowed on her); there was appointed some twenty-four men of our own, and armed, then to go and make a more full discovery of the rivers before mentioned. Master JONES was desirous to go with us; and took such of his sailors as he thought useful for us: so as we were in all about thirty-four men.

We made Master JONES our leader: for we thought

it best herein, to gratify [*acknowledge*] his kindness and forwardness.

When we were set forth [on ? Monday, the 27th November], it proved rough weather and cross winds; so as we were constrained, some in the shallop, and others in the long boat, to row to the nearest shore the wind would suffer them to go unto, and then to wade out [of the sea] above the knees.

The wind was so strong as the shallop could not keep the water; but was forced to harbour there that night: but we* marched six or seven miles further; and appointed the shallop to come to us as soon as they could.

It blowed and did snow all that day and night; and froze withal. Some of our people that are dead, took the original of their death here.

The next day [, ? Tuesday, the 28th November], about eleven a clock, our shallop came to us, and we shipped ourselves; and the wind being good, we sailed to the river we formerly discovered, which we named Cold Harbour [*the Pamet river*]: to which when we came, we found it not navigable for ships; yet we thought it might be a good harbour for boats, for it flows there twelve feet at high water.

We landed our men between the two creeks [*i.e. at Old Tom's Hill, in Indian Neck*], and marched some four or five miles by the greater of them [*the Pamet river*]; and the shallop followed us.

At length, night grew on; and our men were tired with marching up and down the steep hills and deep valleys, which lay half a foot thick with snow. Master JONES, wearied with marching, was desirous we should

* The long boat was evidently merely used to take ashore the party that was to go by land.—E. A.

take up our lodging; though some of us would have marched further. So we made there our randevous for that night, under a few pine trees: and, as it fell out, we got three fat geese and six ducks to our supper; which we eat with soldiers' stomacks, for we had eaten little all that day. Our resolution was, next morning to go up to the head of this river: for we supposed it would prove fresh water.

But in the morning [of ? Wednesday, the 29th November], our resolution held not; because many liked not the hilliness of the soil and [the] badness of the harbour. So we turned towards the other creek; that we might go over and look for the rest of the corn, that we left behind when we were here before.

When we came to the creek, we saw the canow [*canoe*] lie on the dry ground: and a flock of geese in the river, at which one made a shot, and killed a couple of them. And we launched the canow, and fetched them: and when we had done [that], she carried us over [the creek], by seven or eight at once.

This done, we marched to the place where we had the corn formerly, which place we called Cornhill [*now Hopkins's Cliff*]: and digged, and found the rest; of which we were very glad.

We also digged in a place a little further off; and found a bottle of oil.

We went to another place which we had seen before; and digged, and found more corn: viz. two or three baskets' full of Indian wheat [*maize*], and a bag of beans, with a good many of fair wheat ears [*i.e. ears of maize.*]

Whilst some of us were digging up this; some others found another heap of [*i.e. containing*] corn: which they digged up also.

So as we had, in all, about ten bushels; which will serve us sufficiently for seed.

And sure[ly] it was GOD's good Providence that we found this corn; for else we know not how we should have done. For we knew not how we should find, or meet with, any of the Indians; except it be to do us a mischief. Also we had never, in all likelihood, seen a grain of it; if we had not made our first journey: for the ground was now covered with snow, and so hard frozen that we were fain, with our curtleaxes [*cutlasses*] and short swords, to hew and carve the ground a foot deep; and then [to] wrest it up with levers; for we had forgot to bring other tools. Note.

Whilst we were in this imployment, foul weather being towards [*approaching*]; Master JONES was earnest to go aboard [the *Mayflower*]: but sundry of us desired to make further discovery, and to find out the Indians' habitations. So we sent home, with him, our weakest people and some that were sick; and all the corn: and eighteen of us stayed still, and lodged there that night; and desired that the shallop might return to us next day, and bring us some mattocks and spades with them.

The next morning [of ? Thursday, the 30th November], we followed certain beaten paths and tracts of the Indians into the woods; supposing they would have led us into some town or houses. After we had gone a while, we light[ed] upon a very broad beaten path, well nigh two feet broad. Then we lighted all our Matches [*cord burning slowly, and carried alight, in order to fire off the matchlocks*], and prepared ourselves; concluding we were near their dwellings: but, in the end, we found it to be only a path made to drive deer in, when the Indians hunt, as we supposed.

When we had marched five or six miles into the woods, and could find no signs of any people; we returned again another way. And as we came into the plain ground, we found a place like a grave: but it was much bigger and longer than any we had yet seen. It was also covered with boards: so as we mused what it should be, and resolved to dig it up.

Where we found first a mat, and under that a fair bow; and there, another mat; and under that, a board about three-quarters [of a yard] long finely carved and painted, with three tynes [*prongs*] or broaches on the top like a crown. Also between the mats, we found bowls, trays, dishes, and such like trinkets. At length, we came to a fair new mat; and under that, two bundles; the one bigger, the other less. We opened the greater [one], and found in it, a great quantity of fine and perfect red powder; and in it [*that*], the bones and skull of a man. The scull had fine yellow hair still on it; and some of the flesh unconsumed. There were bound up with it, a knife, a pack-needle [*packing needle*], and two or three old iron things. It was bound up in a sailor's canvass cassock [*blouse*], and a pair of cloth breeches. The red powder was a kind of embalment; and yielded a strong, but no offensive, smell. It was as fine as any flour.

We opened the less bundle likewise; and found of the same powder in it, and the bones and head of a little child. About the legs and other parts of it were bound strings and bracelets of fine white beads [*wampum*]. There was also by it a little bow, about three-quarters [of a yard] long; and some other odd knacks.

We brought sundry of the prettiest things away with us; and covered up the corpse[s] again.

After this, we digged in sundry like places; but found no more corn, nor any things else but graves.

There was variety of opinions amongst us about the embalmed person. Some thought, It was an Indian lord and king. Others said, The Indians have all black hair; and never any [one] was seen with brown, or yellow, hair. Some thought, It was a Christian of special note, which had died amongst them; and they thus buried him, to honour him. Others thought, They had killed him; and did it in triumph over him.

Whilst we were thus ranging and searching, two of the sailors, which were newly come on the shore [from the shallop], by chance, espied two houses: which had been lately dwelt in; but the people were gone. They, having their pieces [*matchlocks*, or *muskets*] and hearing nobody, entered the houses; and took out some things, and durst not stay: but came again and told us. So some seven or eight of us went with them: and found how we had gone within a flight shot [*the flight of an arrow from the long bow*] of them before.

The houses [*wigwams*] were made with long young sapling trees, bended and both ends stuck in the ground. They were made round like an arbour, and covered down to the ground with thick and well wrought mats; and the door was not over a yard high, made of a mat to open. The chimney was a wide open hole in the top; for which they had a mat, to cover it close when they pleased. One might stand and go upright in them. In the midst of them were four little trunches [*stakes*, or *small posts*] knocked into the ground; and small sticks laid over, on which they hung their pots and what they had to seethe. Round about the fire, they lay on mats; which are their beds. The houses were double matted:

for as they were matted without; so were they within, with newer and fairer mats.

In the houses, we found wooden bowls, trays, and dishes; earthen pots; hand baskets made of crab shells wrought together: also an English pail or bucket; it wanted a bail [*handle*], but it had two iron ears. There were also baskets of sundry sorts (bigger and some lesser; finer and some coarser. Some were curiously wrought with black and white, in pretty works [*patterns*]); and sundry other of their household stuff. We found also two or three deer's heads: one whereof had been newly killed, for it was still fresh. There was also a company [*number*] of deer's feet stuck up in the houses. Harts' horns, and eagles' claws, and sundry like things, there were. Also two or three baskets full of parched acorns, pieces of fish, and a piece of a broiled herring. We found also a little silk grass, and a little tobacco seed; with some other seeds which we knew not.

Without, were sundry bundles of flags, and sedge bulrushes, and other stuff, to make mats. There was thrust into a hollow tree, two or three pieces of venison; but we thought it fitter [, *being tainted,*] for the dogs than for us.

Some of the best things, we took away with us; and left the houses standing still as they were.

So, it growing towards night, and the tide almost spent [*ebbed away*], we hasted, with our things, down to the shallop; and got aboard [the *Mayflower*] that night: intending to have brought some beads and other things, to have left in the houses; in sign of peace, and that we meant to truck with them. But it was not done, by means of our hasty coming away from Cape Cod: but, so soon as we

can meet conveniently with them, we will give them full satisfaction.

Thus much of our Second Discovery.

Having thus discovered this place, it was controversial amongst us, What to do touching our abode and settling there.

Some thought it best, for many reasons, to abide there.

As first. That there was a convenient harbour for boats; though not for ships.

Secondly. Good corn-ground ready to our hands, as we saw by experience in the goodly corn it yielded: which would again agree with the ground, and be natural seed for the same.

Thirdly. Cape Cod was like[ly] to be a place of good fishing: for we saw daily great whales, of the best kind for oil and bone, come close aboard our ship; and, in fair weather, swim and play about us. There was once one, when the sun shone warm, came and lay above water, as if she had been dead, for a good while together, within half a musket shot of the ship. At which, two were prepared to shoot, to see whether she would stir or no. He that gave fire first, his musket flew in pieces, both stock and barrel: yet, thanks be to GOD, neither he, nor any man else, was hurt with it, though many were there about. But when the whale saw her time, she gave a snuff, and away!

Fourthly. The place was likely to be healthful, secure, and defensible.

But the last and especial reason was, That now the heart of winter and unseasonable weather was come upon us: so that we could not go upon coasting [*surveying*] and discovery without danger of losing men

and boat: upon which would follow the overthrow of all, especially considering what variable winds and sudden storms do there arise. Also cold and wet lodging had so tainted our people (for scarce any of us was free from vehement coughs) as if they should continue long in that estate, it would indanger the lives of many, and breed diseases and infection amongst us. Again, we had yet some beer, butter, flesh, and other such victuals: which would quickly be all gone: and then we should have nothing to comfort us in the great labour and toil we were like[ly] to undergo at the first. It was also conceived, whilst we had competent victuals, that the ship would stay with us: but when that grew low, they would be gone; and let us shift as we could.

Others again urged greatly the going to Anguum or Angoum [*Agawam*, now *Ipswich*], a place twenty leagues off to the northwards; which they had heard to be an excellent harbour for ships, [with] better ground and better fishing.

Secondly. For anything we knew, there might be, hard by us, a far better seat; and it should be a great hindrance to seat [*settle*] where we should remove again.

Thirdly. The water was but in ponds; and it was thought there would be none in summer, or very little.

Fourthly. The water there must be fetched up a steep hill [*i.e. at Cornhill;* now *Hopkin's Cliff*].

But to omit many Reasons and Replies used hereabouts; it was, in the end, concluded, To make some discovery within the Bay; but in no case so far as Angoum.

Besides, ROBERT COPPIN, our Pilot, made relation of a great navigable river and good harbour in the other

headland of the Bay [*Manomet Bluff, or Head; lying directly south of the entrance to Plymouth harbour*], almost right over against Cape Cod, being, [in] a right line, not much above eight leagues [=24 *miles*] distant; in which he had been once: and because that one of the wild men, with whom they had some trucking, stole a harping iron [*harpoon*] from them, they called it Thievish Harbour [*Plymouth harbour*]. And beyond that place, they were enjoined not to go.

Whereupon a Company was chosen to go out upon a Third Discovery.

Whilst some were imployed in this Discovery, it pleased GOD that Mistress WHITE was brought to bed of a son; which was called PEREGRINE.

[Tuesday,] the 5th day [of December], we, through GOD's mercy, escaped a great danger by the foolishness of a boy; one of FRANCIS BILLINGTON's sons [*or rather*, FRANCIS, the son of JOHN BILLINGTON *senior*; *see page* 372]: who, in his father's absence, had got gunpowder, and had shot off a piece [*musket*] or two; and made squibs. And there being a fowling piece charged, in his father's cabin, shot her off in the cabin; there being a little barrel of powder half full, scattered in and about the cabin; the fire [*discharge*] being within four feet of the bed [*bunk*] between the decks; and many flints and iron things about the cabin; and many people about the fire—and yet, by GOD's mercy, no harm done.

[THE THIRD DISCOVERY.]

Wednesday, the 6th of December [1620], it was resolved our Discoverers should set forth: for the day before was [of] too foul weather. And so they did;

though it was well over the day ere all things could be ready.

So ten of our men were appointed, who were of themselves willing to undertake it, to wit, Captain STANDISH, Master CARVER, WILLIAM BRADFORD, EDWARD WINSLOW, JOHN TILLEY, EDWARD TILLEY, JOHN HOWLAND; and three of London, RICHARD WARREN, STEPHEN HOPKINS and EDWARD DOTEY; and two of *our* seamen, JOHN ALDERTON [*or rather* ALLERTON] and THOMAS ENGLISH [*see page* 377]. Of the ship's company, there went two of the Master's Mates, Master [JOHN, *see page* 254] CLARKE and Master [ROBERT] COPPIN, the Master Gunner, and three sailors.

The Narration of which Discovery follows, penned by one of the company [*i.e. WILLIAM BRADFORD, see page* 432].

Wednesday, the 6th of December [1620], we set out: [it] being very cold and hard weather.

We were a long while, after we launched from the ship, before we could get clear of a sandy point [*Long Point*], which lay within less than a furlong of the same. In which time, two were very sick; and EDWARD TILLEY had like to have sounded [*swooned*] with cold. The Gunner was also sick unto death; but hope of trucking [*barter*] made him go: and so [he] remained all that day, and the next night.

At length, we got clear of the sandy point, and got up our sails; and, within an hour or two, we got under the weather shore [*i.e. the shore of Cape Cod; from which the north-east wind then blew*], and then had smoother water and better sailing: but it was very cold; for the water froze on our clothes, and made them many times like coats of iron.

We sailed six or seven leagues by the shore; but saw neither river nor creek.

At length we met with a tongue of land, being flat, off from the shore, with a sandy point [*Billingsgate Point*]. We bore up to gain the point; and found there, a fair in-come or road of a Bay [*Wellfleet Bay*], being a league over at the narrowest, and some two or three [leagues] in length. But we made right over to the land before us; and left the discovery of this in-come till the next day.

As we drew near to the shore, we espied some ten or twelve Indians [who were] very busy about a black thing; what it was we could not tell; till afterwards they saw us, and ran to and fro, as if they had been carrying something away.

We landed a league or two from them, and had much ado to put ashore anywhere; it lay so full of flat sands.

When we came to shore, we made us a barricado, and got firewood, and set out our sentinels; and betook us to our lodging, such as it was. We saw the smoke of the fire which the savages made that night, about four or five miles from us.

In the morning [of Thursday, the 7th December], we divided our company. Some eight in the shallop, and the rest [*that is* twelve] on the shore, went to discover this place: but we found it only to be a Bay, without either river or creek coming into it. Yet we deemed it to be as good a harbour as Cape Cod. For they that sounded it, found a ship might ride in five fathom[s of] water. We, on the land, found it to be a level soil; but none of the fruitfulest. We saw two becks of fresh water: which were the first running streams that we saw in the country: but one might stride over them. We found also a great fish, called a

grampus, dead on the sands. They in the shallop found two of them also, in the bottom of the Bay, dead in like sort. They were cast up at high water; and could not get off for the frost and ice. They were some five or six paces [12½ *to* 15 *feet*] long, and about two inches thick of fat, and fleshed like a swine. They would have yielded a great deal of oil; if there had been time and means to have taken it.

So we finding nothing for our turn; both we and the shallop returned.

We then directed our course along the sea sands, to the place where we first saw the Indians. When we were there, we saw it was also a grampus which they were cutting up. They cut it into long rands [*strips*] or pieces, about an ell [*forty-five inches*] long and two hands full [= *eight inches*] broad. We found here and there a piece scattered by the way, as it seemed for haste.

This place, the most were minded we should call the Grampus Bay; because we found so many of them there.

We followed the tract of the Indians' bare feet a good way on the sands. At length, we saw where they struck into the woods, by the side of a pond [*the Great Pond, in Eastham*].

As we went to view the place, one said, He thought he saw an Indian house [*wigwam*] among the trees. So [we] went up to see; and here we and the shallop lost sight of one another till night: it being now about nine, or ten, a clock.

So we light[ed] on a path, but saw no house; and followed a great way into the woods.

At length, we found where corn had been set: but not that year.

Anon we found a great burying place, one part whereof was incompassed with a large palazado [*palisade*], like a churchyard, with young spires [*shoots* or *saplings*], four or five yards long, set as close one by another as they could, two or three feet in the ground Within, it was full of graves: some bigger and some less, some were also paled about; and others had like an Indian house [*wigwam*] made over them, but not matted. Those graves were more sumptuous than those at Cornhill. Yet we digged none of them up: but only viewed them, and went our way.

Without the palazado were graves also; but not so costly.

From this place we went, and found more corn ground; but not of this year.

As we ranged, we light[ed] on four or five Indian houses, which had been lately dwelt in: but they were uncovered, and had no mats about them; else they were like those we found at Cornhill; but had not been so lately dwelt in. There was nothing left but two or three pieces of old mats, [and] a little sedge.

Also a little further, we found two baskets full of parched acorns hid in the ground; which we supposed had been corn, when we began to dig the same. We cast earth thereon again, and went our way.

All this while, we saw no people. We went ranging up and down till the sun began to draw low: and then we hasted out of the woods, that we might come to our shallop; which, when we were out of the woods, we espied a great way off.

And [we] called them to come unto us; the which they did as soon as they could, for it was not yet high water.

They were exceeding glad to see us: for they feared, because they had not seen us in so long a time: thinking we would have kept by the shore side.

So, being both weary and faint, for we had eaten nothing all that day: we fell to make our randevous; and [to] get firewood, which [did] always cost us a great deal of labour.

By that time we had done, and our shallop [had] come to us, it was within night: and we fed upon such victuals as we had; and betook us to our rest, after we had set our watch.

About midnight, we hear a great and hideous cry; and our sentinels called, "Arm!, Arm!" So we bestirred ourselves, and shot off a couple of muskets; and [the] noise ceased. We concluded that it was a company of wolves, or foxes. For one told us, He had heard such a noise in Newfoundland.

About five a clock in the morning [of Friday, the 8th December], we began to be stirring: and two or three, which doubted whether their pieces [*muskets*] would go off or no, made trial of them; and shot them off, but thought nothing at all [of it].

After prayer, we prepared ourselves for breakfast, and for a journey: and it being now the twilight in the morning, it was thought meet to carry the things down to the shallop. Some said, It was not best to carry the armour down. Others said, They would [then] be readier [*i.e. to start*]. Two or three said, They would not carry theirs, till they went themselves: but mistrusting nothing at all.

As it fell out, the water not being high enough, they laid the things [*i.e. their arms*] down on the shore; and came up to breakfast.

Anon, all upon a sudden, we heard a great and

strange cry; which we knew to be the same voices [*Governor* BRADFORD *adds*, they heard in the night (*Bradford MS.*, folio 121): *therefore he is the Writer of this Narrative*], though they varied their notes. One of our company, being abroad [*at a distance*], came running in, and cried, "They are men!, Indians!, Indians!": and withal their arrows came flying amongst us.

Our men ran out, with all speed, to recover their arms; as, by the good Providence of GOD, they did.

In the mean time, Captain MILES STANDISH, having a snaphance [*a hand-gun fired with flint and steel*] ready, made a shot; and after him, another. After they two had shot, other two of us [*one of whom was evidently* BRADFORD] were ready: but he wished us not to shoot till we could take aim, for we knew not what need we should have. And there were four only of us which had their arms there ready; and [we] stood before the open side of our barricado, which was first assaulted. Our first combat with the Indians.

They thought it best to defend it; lest the enemy should take it and our stuff, and so have the more vantage against us.

Our care was no less for the shallop; but we hoped all the rest [*i.e. the* 16 *others*] would defend it. We called unto them, to know how it was with them. And they answered "Well!, Well!," every one; and "Be of good courage!" We heard three of their pieces go off: and the rest called for a firebrand to light their Matches [*match-cord*]. One took a log, out of the fire [*i.e. at the barricade*], on his shoulder; and went and carried it unto them: which was thought did not a little discourage our enemies.

The cry of our enemies was dreadful; especially

when our men ran out to recover their arms. Their note was after this manner, "Woath! Woach! Ha! Ha! Hach! Woach!"

Our men were no sooner come to their arms; but the enemy were ready to assault them. There was a lusty man, and no whit less valiant, who was thought to be their Captain. [He] stood behind a tree, within half a musket shot of us; and there let his arrows fly at us. He was seen to shoot three arrows; which were all avoided. For he at whom the first arrow was aimed, saw it, and stooped down; and it flew over him. The rest were avoided also. He stood three shots of a musket. At length, one took, as he said, full aim at him. After which, he give an extraordinary cry: and away they went all!

We followed them about a quarter of a mile: but we left six to keep our shallop; for we were careful of our business. Then we shouted all together, two several times; and shot off a couple of muskets; and so returned. This we did that they might see we were not afraid of them; nor discouraged. Thus it pleased GOD to vanquish our enemies; and give us deliverance.

By their noise, we could not guess that they were less than thirty or forty; though some thought that they were many more. Yet in the dark of the morning, we could not so well discern them among the trees; as they could see us, by our fire side.

We took up eighteen of their arrows; which we have sent to England by Master JONES [of the *Mayflower*]: some whereof were headed with brass; others, with hart's horn; and others, with eagles' claws.

Many more, no doubt, were shot: for these we found, were almost covered with leaves. Yet, by the especial Providence of GOD, none of them either hit, or hurt, us;

though many came close by us, and on every side of us and some coats, which hung up in our barricado, were shot through and through.

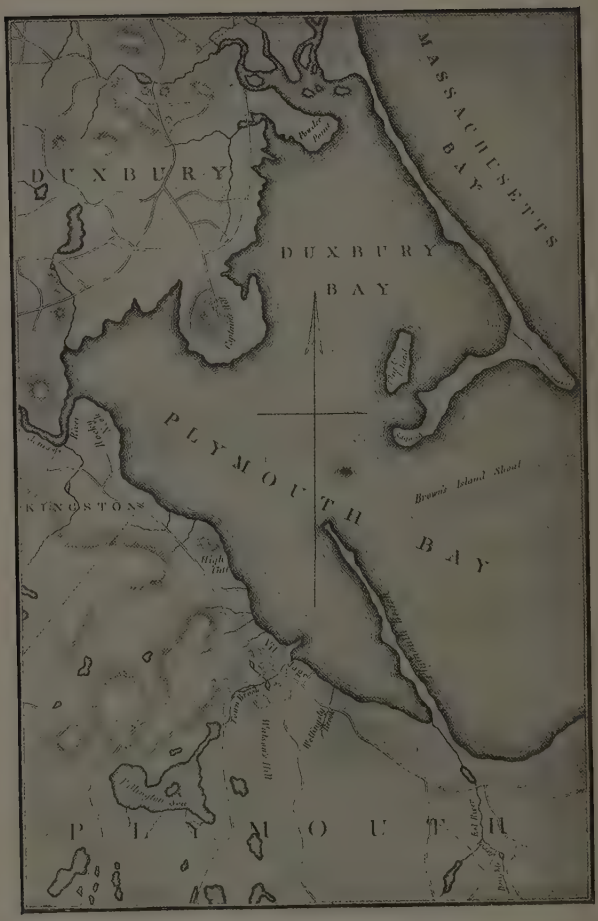
So, after we had given GOD thanks for our deliverance; we took our shallop, and went on our journey: and called this place, The First Encounter. [*It took place right in the middle of Nauset* (Eastham); "*for howsoever, through snow or otherwise, we saw no houses* (wigwams); *yet we were in the midst of them*," *page* 476].

From hence, we intended to have sailed to the aforesaid Thievish Harbour [*Plymouth harbour*]; if we found no convenient harbour by the way.

Having the wind good, we sailed all that day along the coast, about fifteen leagues: but saw neither river, nor creek, to put into. After we had sailed an hour or two, it began to snow and rain, and to be bad weather. About the midst of the afternoon, the wind increased; and the seas began to be very rough: and the hinges of the rudder broke, so that we could steer no longer with it; but two men, with much ado, were fain to serve with a couple of oars. The seas were grown so great, that we were much troubled; and in great danger: and night grew on.

Anon, Master COPPIN bade us, Be of good cheer! he saw the harbour. As we drew near, the gale being stiff, and we bearing great sail to get in, [the wind] split our mast in three pieces; and was like[ly] to have cast away our shallop: yet, by GOD's mercy, recovering ourselves, we had the flood [tide] with us, and struck into the harbour.

Now he that thought that had been the place, was



PLYMOUTH BAY, MASSACHUSETTS.

deceived; it being a place where not any of us had been before: and coming into the harbour, he, that was our Pilot [*i.e.* ROBERT COPPIN], did bear up northward; which if we had continued, we had been cast away.

Yet still the LORD kept us, and we bare up for an island [*Clark's Island*] before us: and recovering that island, being compassed about with many rocks and dark night growing upon us, it pleased the divine Providence that we fell upon a place of sandy ground; where our shallop did ride safe and secure all that night.

And coming upon a strange island; [we] kept our watch all night, in the rain, upon that island: and, in the morning, we marched about it, and found no inhabitants at all. And here we made our randevous all that day: [it] being Saturday [,the 9th December].

10th of December. On the Sabbath Day, we rested.

And on Monday [, 11th December 1620, *Forefathers' Day*,] we sounded the harbour; and found it a very good harbour for our shipping. We march also into the land; and found divers cornfields and little running brooks. A place very good for situation.

So we returned [? *on Tuesday, 12th December*] to our ship again, with good news to the rest of our people: which did much comfort their hearts.

On the 15th day [of December 1620], we [*i.e.* the *Mayflower*] weighed anchor, to go to the place we had discovered; and coming within two leagues of the land, we could not fetch the harbour; but were fain to put room [*bear off to sea*] again, towards Cape Cod; our course lying West, and the wind was at north-west.

But it pleased GOD that, the next day, being Saturday the 16th, the wind came fair; and we put to sea again [*or rather, towards the land*], and came safely into a safe harbour. And, within half an hour, the wind changed: so as if we had been letted [*hindered*] but a little, we had gone back to Cape Cod.

This harbour is a bay greater than [that of] Cape Cod, compassed with a goodly land: and in the bay, two fine islands [*Clark's Island and Saquish peninsula*] uninhabited; wherein is nothing but wood, oaks, pines, walnut, beech, sassafras, vines, and other trees which we know not.

This bay is a most hopeful place. [It has an] innumerable store of [wild] fowl; and excellent[ly] good: and [it] cannot but be [full] of fish in their seasons. Skate, cod, turbot [*flounder*], and herring [*alewives*] we have tasted of. Abundance of mussels, the greatest and best that we ever saw. Crabs and lobsters, in their time, infinite.

It [*the harbour*] is in fashion like a sickle, or fishhook.

Monday, the 13th day, we [*i.e. the shallop*] went aland, manned with the Master of the ship, and three or four of the sailors.

We marched along the coast [*westwards, towards Kingston*], in the woods, some seven or eight miles; but saw not an Indian, nor an Indian house [*wigwam*]: only we found where formerly had been some inhabitants; and where they had planted their corn. We found not any navigable river: but four or five small running brooks of very sweet fresh water, that all ran into the sea.

The land, for the crust of the earth, is [at] a spit's depth, excellent black mould; and fat in some places.

Two or three great oaks, but not very thick. Pines,

walnut, beech, ash, birch, hazle, holly, asp [*aspen*], sassafras, in abundance: and Vines, everywhere. Cherry-trees, plum-trees, and many others which we knew not. Many kinds of herbs, we found here in winter; as strawberry leaves innumerable, sorrel, yarrow, carvell [*chervil*], brook-lime, liverwort, watercresses, great store of leeks and onions; and an excellent strong kind of flax and hemp. Here are sand [and] gravel; and excellent clay, no better in the world, excellent for pots, and will wash like soap: and great store of stone, though somewhat soft; and the best water that ever we drank; and the brooks now begin to be full of fish.

That night, many being weary with marching, we went aboard again.

The next morning, being Tuesday, the 19th of December, we went again to discover further. Some went on land, and some in the shallop. The land we found, as the former day we did. And we found a creek [*Jones's river*], and went up three English miles. A very pleasant river. At full sea, a bark of thirty tons may go up; but at low water, scarce our shallop could pass.

This place [*now the village of Kingston*] we had a great liking to plant in: but that it was so far from our fishing, our principal profit; and so incompassed with woods, that we should be in much danger of the savages; and our number being so little, and so much ground to clear: so as we thought good to quit and clear that place, till we were of more strength.

Some of us, having a good mind, for safety to plant in the greater isle [*Clark's Island*]; we crossed the bay, which there is five or six miles over, and found the isle about a mile and a half, or two miles about [*in circuit*], all wooded, and no fresh water but two or three pits [so]

that we doubted [*were doubtful*] of fresh water in summer: and so full of wood as we could hardly clear so much as to serve us for corn. Besides, we judged it cold for our corn; and some part [of it] very rocky. Yet divers thought of it as a place defencible and of great security.

That night, we return again a-shipboard, with resolution, the next morning, to settle on some of those places.

So, in the morning [of Wednesday], after we had called on GOD for direction, we came to this resolution, To go presently [*at once*] ashore again; and to take a better view of two places which we thought most fitting for us. For we could not now take time for further search or consideration: our victuals being much spent, especially our beer; and it being now the 20th of December.

After our landing, and viewing of the places so well as we could; we came to a conclusion by [the] most voices [*the majority*] to se[a]t on the mainland, on the first place [of the two], on a high ground, where there is a great deal of land cleared, and [that] hath been planted with corn three or four years ago; and [where] there is a very sweet brook [that] runs under the hill side; and many delicate springs of as good water as can be drunk; and where we may harbour our shallops and boats exceeding well; and in this brook, much good fish in their seasons; [and] on the further [*i.e. the south*] side of the river [*the Town Brook*] also, [there is] much corn ground cleared.

In one field is a great hill [*The Mount, see page 533: afterwards called Fort Hill; and now, Burial Hill.*]; on which we [ap]point to make a Platform *or Fort*], and to plant our ordnance; which will command all

round about. From thence we may see into the Bay, and far into the sea: and we may see thence Cape Cod.

Our greatest labour will be the fetching of our wood, which is half a quarter of an English mile [=*a furlong, or* 220 *yards*]: but there is enough, so far off.

What people inhabit here, we know not; for as yet we have seen none.

So there we made our randevous; and a place for some of our people, about twenty: resolving, in the morning, to come all ashore, and to build houses.

But the next morning, being Thursday the 21st of December, it was stormy and wet that we could not go ashore. And those that remained there all night, could do nothing; but were wet: not having daylight enough to make them[selves] a sufficient court of guard [=*guard house.* Here it means, *shelter*] to keep them dry.

All that night, it blew and rained extremely. It was so tempestuous that the shallop could not go on land so soon as was meet: for they had no victuals on land.

About eleven a clock, the shallop went off with much ado, with provisions: but could not return, it blew so strong. And [it] was such foul weather that we were forced to let fall our [? sheet] anchor: and ride with three anchors ahead.

Friday, the 22nd. The storm still continued that we could not get aland; nor they come to us aboard.

This morning goodwife ALDERTON [*MARY ALLERTON*] was delivered of a son; but dead born.

Saturday, the 23rd. So many of us as could, went ashore; [and] felled and carried timber, to provide ourselves stuff for building.

Sunday, the 24th. Our people on shore heard a cry of some savages, as they thought; which cause an alarm,

and to stand on their guard, expecting an assault: but all was quiet.

Monday, the 25th day. We went on shore. Some to fell timber, some to saw, some to rive, and some to carry: so no man rested all that day. But towards night, some, as they were at work, heard a noise of some Indians; which caused us all to go to our muskets. But we heard no further [of it]: so we came aboard again, and left some twenty to keep the court of guard. That night we had a sore storm of wind and rain.

Monday, the 25th, being Christmas Day, we began to drink water aboard. But, at night, the Master caused us to have some beer. And so on board, we had divers times, now and then, some beer: but on shore none at all.

Tuesday, the 26th, it was foul weather, that we could not go ashore.

Wednesday, the 27th. We went to work again.

Thursday, the 28th of December. So many as could, went to work on the hill [*The Mount*]; where we purposed to build our Platform [*Fort*] for our ordnance; and which doth command all the plain and the bay; and from whence we may see far into the sea. And [it] might be [the] easier impaled; having two rows of houses, and a fair street [*now Leyden street*].

So, in the afternoon, we went to measure out the grounds. And first, we took notice how many families there were: willing all single men, that had no wives, to join some family, as they thought fit, that so we might build fewer houses. Which was done; and we reduced them to nineteen families.

To greater families, we allotted larger plots: to every person, half a Pole [$=2\frac{3}{4}$ *yards*] in breadth, and

three [$=16\frac{1}{2}$ *yards*] in length. And so lots were cast, where every man should lie. Which was done, and staked out.

We thought this proportion was large enough, at the first, for houses and gardens, to impale them around; considering the weakness of our people: many of them growing ill with colds for [*on account of*] our former Discoveries in frost and storms; and the wading at Cape Cod had brought much weakness amongst us, which increased so every day, more and more; and after was the cause of many of their deaths.

Friday and Saturday. We fitted ourselves for our labour: but our people on shore were much troubled and discouraged with rain and wet those days; [it] being very stormy and cold. We saw great smokes of fire, made by the Indians, about six or seven miles from us, as we conjectured.

Monday, the 1st of January [1621]. We went betimes to work. We were much hindered in lying so far off from the land, and fain to go as the tide served; that we lost much time. For our ship [of 180 tons] drew so much water that she lay a mile and almost a half off: though a ship of 70 or 80 tons, at high water, may come to the shore.

Wednesday, the 3rd of January. Some of our people, being abroad to get and gather thatch; they saw great fires of the Indians, and were at their cornfields: yet saw none of the savages; nor had seen any of them since we came to this bay.

Thursday, the 4th of January. Captain MILES STANDISH, with four or five more, went to see if they could meet with any of the savages in that place where the fires were made. They went to some of their houses; but not lately inhabited: yet they could not

meet with any. As they came home, they shot at an eagle and killed her; which was excellent meat. It was hardly to be discerned from mutton.

Friday, the 5th of January. One of the sailors found alive upon the shore, a herring; which the Master had to his supper: which put us in hope of fish; but as yet we had got but one cod. We wanted small hooks.

Saturday, the 6th of January. Master [CHRISTOPHER] MARTIN was very sick; and, to our judgement, [with] no hope of life: so Master CARVER was sent for, to come aboard [the *Mayflower*] to speak with him, about his Accounts [as Treasurer of the Company].

Who came, the next morning. [*See page* 344].

Monday, the 8th day of January, was a very fair day; and we went betimes to work. Master JONES sent the shallop, as he had formerly done, to see where fish could be got. They had a great storm at sea, and were in some danger. At night, they returned with three great seals; and an excellent good cod: which did assure us that we should have plenty of fish shortly.

This day, FRANCIS BILLINGTON (having, the week before, seen, from the top of a tree on a high hill, a great sea, as he thought) went with one of the Master's Mates to see it. They went three miles; and then came to a great water divided into two great lakes: the bigger of them five or six miles in circuit, and in it an isle of a cable's length [= 100 *fathoms* = 600 *feet*] square; the other, three miles in compass. In their estimation, they are [of] fine fresh water; full of fish and fowl. A brook [*the Town Brook*] issues from it. It will be an excellent help for us in time.

They found seven or eight Indian houses [*wigwams*]; but not lately inhabited. When they saw the houses,

they were in some fear: for they were but two persons and one piece [*musket*].

Tuesday, the 9th January, was a reasonable fair day: and we went to labour that day in the building of our town, in two rows of houses for more safety. We divided by lot the plot of ground whereon to build our town. After the proportion formerly allotted [*see page* 440]; we agreed that every man should build his own house: thinking, by that course, men would make more haste than [when] working in common. The Common House, in which, for the first, we made our rende[z]vous, being nearly finished, wanted only covering. It being about twenty feet square. Some would make mortar; and some gather thatch: so that, in four days, half of it was thatched. Frost and foul weather hindered us much. This time of the year seldom could we work half the week.

Thursday the 11th. WILLIAM BRADFORD being at work, for it was a fair day, was vehemently taken with a grief and pain, and so shot to his huckle-bone [*hip-bone*], it was doubted [*feared*] that he would have instantly died. He got cold in the former Discoveries, especially the last; and felt some pain in his ancles by times [*occasionally*]. But he grew a little better towards night; and in time, through GOD's mercy in the use of means, recovered.

Friday, the 12th. We went to work; but, about noon, it began to rain, that it forced us to give over work.

This day, two of our people put us in great sorrow and care. There were four sent to gather and cut thatch, in the morning; and two of them, JOHN GOODMAN and PETER BROWNE, having cut thatch all the forenoon, went to a further place: and willed the

other two to bind up that which was cut, and to follow them. So they did, [it] being about a mile and a half from our Plantation.

But when the two came after; they could not find them, nor hear anything of them at all: though they hallowed [*hallooed*] and shouted as loud as they could. So they returned to the Company, and told them of it.

Whereupon Master LEAVER [*or rather CARVER*] and three or four more, went to seek them: but could hear nothing of them. So they returning, sent more: but that night they could hear nothing at all of them.

The next day [, Saturday, the 13th], they armed ten or twelve men out; verily thinking the Indians had surprised them: but could neither see nor hear anything at all. So they returned with much discomfort to us all.

These two that were missed; at dinner time took their meat in their hands, and would go [and] walk and refresh themselves. So going a little off, they find a lake of water [? *Lout Pond, near Billington Sea*]: and, having a great mastiff bitch with them and a spaniel, by the water side they found a great deer. The dogs chased him; and they followed so far as they lost themselves, and could not find the way back.

They wandered all that afternoon, [it] being wet: and at night it did freeze and snow. They were slenderly apparelled; and had no weapons, but each one his sickle; nor any victuals.

They ranged up and down; and could find none of the savages' habitations [*wigwams*].

When it drew to night, they were much perplexed

for they could find neither harbour nor meat: but, in frost and snow, were forced to make the earth, their bed; and the element [*heavens*], their covering. And another thing did very much terrify them. They heard, as they thought, two lions [*wolves*] roaring exceedingly, for a long time together; and a third, that they thought was very near them: so, not knowing what to do, they resolved to climb up into a tree, as their safest refuge; though that would prove an intolerable cold lodging.

So they stood at the tree's root, that, when the lions came, they might take their opportunity of climbing up. The bitch they were fain to hold by the neck; for she would have been gone to the lion. But it pleased GOD so to dispose, that the wild beasts came not.

So they walked up and down under the tree all night. It was an extremely cold night.

So soon as it was light, they travelled again: passing by many lakes and brooks and woods; and in one place where the savages had burnt the space of five miles in length, which is a fine champion [*open*] country and even.

In the afternoon, it pleased GOD from a high hill they discovered the two isles in the bay [*Clark's Island, and Saquish peninsula in Plymouth harbour*]; and so, that night, got to the Plantation; being ready to faint with travail [*fatigue*] and want of victuals; and almost famished [*perishing*] with cold. JOHN GOODMAN was fain to have his shoes cut off his feet; they were so swelled with cold: and it was a long while after, ere he was able to go.

Those on the shore were much comforted at their return: but they on shipboard were grieved, as deeming them lost.

But the next day, being [Sunday,] the 14th of January, in the morning, about six of the clock, the wind being very great; they on shipboard spied their great new randevous on fire: which was to them a new discomfort; fearing, because of the supposed loss of the men, that the savages had fired them.

Neither could they presently go to them, for want of water; but, after three-quarters of an hour, they went: as they had purposed, the day before, to keep the Sabbath on shore; because, now, *there* was the greater number of people.

At their landing, they heard [the] good tidings of the return of the two men; and that the house was fired occasionally [*accidentally*] by a spark that flew into the thatch: which instantly burnt it [*i.e. the thatch*] all up; but the roof stood and [was] little hurt.

The most loss was Master CARVER's and WILLIAM BRADFORD's; who then lay [there] sick in bed: and, if they had not risen with good speed, had been blown up with powder; but, through GOD's mercy, they had no harm.

The house was as full of beds as they could lie one by another; and their muskets were charged: but, blessed be GOD, there was no harm done.

Monday, the 15th day. It rained much all day, that they on shipboard could not go on shore; nor they on shore do any labour: but were all wet.

Tuesday, Wednesday, Thursday were very fair sunshiny days; as if it had been April: and our people, so many as were in health, wrought cheerfully.

[Friday,] the 19th day, we resolved to make a Shed, to put our common provision[s] in; of which some were already set on shore: but at noon it rained, that we could not work.

This day, in the evening, JOHN GOODMAN went abroad, to use his lame feet, that were pitifully ill with the cold he had got. Having a little spaniel with him, a little way from the Plantation, two great wolves ran after the dog. The dog ran to him; and betwixt his legs, for succour. He had nothing in his hand: but took up a stick, and threw at one of them and hit him: and they presently ran both away, but came again. He got a pale board [*a stake* or *paling*] in his hand: and they sat both on their tails, grinning at him, a good while, and [then] went their way and left him.

Saturday, the 20th, we made up our Shed for our common goods.

Sunday, the 21st, we kept our Meeting on land.

Monday, the 22nd, was a fair day. We wrought on our houses; and, in the afternoon, carried up our hogsheads of meal to our common Storehouse [*i.e. the Shed*].

The rest of the week, we followed our business likewise.

Monday, the 29th, in the morning, cold frost and sleet: but, after, reasonably fair. Both the long boat and the shallop brought our common goods on shore.

Tuesday and Wednesday, 30th and 31st of January. Cold frosty weather and sleet, that we could not work. In the morning, the Master and others saw two savages, that had been on the island [*Clark's Island*] near our ship. What they came for, we could not tell. They were going [*gone*] so far back again, before they were descried, that we could not speak with them.

Sunday, the 4th of February, was very wet and rainy; with the greatest gusts of wind that ever we had, since we came forth [*i.e. from England*]: [so] that though we rid in a very good harbour, yet we were in danger;

because our ship was light, the goods [being] taken out, and she unballasted. And it caused much daubing [*plaster made of earth*] of our houses to fall down.

Friday the 9th. Still the cold weather continued, that we could do [but] little work. That afternoon, our little house for our sick people, was set on fire by a spark that kindled in the roof; but no great harm was done. That evening, the Master [*Captain* JONES], going ashore, killed five geese; which he friendly distributed among the sick people. He found also a good deer killed. The savages had cut off the horns; and a wolf was eating of him. How he came there we could not conceive.

Friday, the 16th day, was a fair day: but the northerly wind continued, which continued the frost.

This day, after noon, one of our people being a fowling; and having taken a stand by the creek side, in the reeds, about a mile and a half from our Plantation; there came by him twelve Indians, marching towards our Plantation: and in the woods, he heard the noise of many more. He lay close till they were passed; and then, with what speed he could, he went home, and gave the alarm. So the people abroad in the woods returned, and armed themselves; but saw none of them: only toward the evening, they made a great fire, about the place where they were first discovered [*see page* 441].

Captain MILES STANDISH and FRANCIS COOKE, being at work in the woods, coming home, left their tools behind them: but, before they returned, their tools were taken away by the savages.

This coming of the savages gave us occasion to keep more strict watch; and to make our pieces and furniture [*muskets and their equipment*] ready, which by the moisture and rain were out of temper.

Saturday, the 17th day [of February, 1621], in the morning, we called a meeting for the establishing of Military Orders amongst ourselves: and we chose MILES STANDISH, our Captain; and gave him authority of command in affairs.

And as we were in consultation hereabouts, two savages presented themselves upon the top of a hill [*Strawberry Hill, now called Watson's Hill. Its Indian name was Cantaugcanteest.*] over against our Plantation, about a quarter of a mile and less; and made signs unto us, to come unto them.

We likewise made signs unto them, to come to us. Whereupon we armed ourselves, and stood ready: and sent two over the brook [*the Town Brook*] towards them, to wit, Captain STANDISH and STEPHEN HOPKINS; who went towards them. Only one of them had a musket; which they laid down on the ground in their sight, in sign of peace and to parley with them: but the savages would not tarry their coming. A noise of a great many more was heard behind the hill: but no more came in sight.

This caused us to plant our great ordnance in places most convenient.

Wednesday, the 21st of February. The Master came on shore, with many of his sailors, and brought with him one of the great pieces, called a Minion [, *a cannon weighing* 1,200 *lbs., having a bore of* 3¼ *inches, and firing* 340 *yards*] and helped us to draw it up the hill; with another piece that lay on shore: and mounted them; and a Saker [, or Sacre, *a cannon weighing* 1,500 *lbs., having a bore of* 3½ *inches, and firing* 360 *yards*], and two Bases [, *cannon; each weighing* 202 *lbs. and having a bore of* 1¼ *inches.*]

He brought with him, a very fat goose to eat with us;

and we had a fat crane, and a mallard, and a dried neat's tongue: and so we were kindly and friendly together.

Saturday, the 3rd of March, the wind was south; the morning, misty; but towards noon, warm and fair weather. The birds sang in the woods most pleasantly. At one of the clock, it thundered: which was the first we heard in that country. It was [of] strong and great claps; but short. But, after an hour, it rained very sadly [*grievously*] till midnight.

Wednesday, the 7th of March. The wind was full east; cold, but fair. That day, Master CARVER, with five others, went to the great ponds [*Billington Sea*; or possibly, *the Great South Pond*]; which seem to be excellent fishing places. All the way they went, they found it exceedingly beaten [*trodden*] and haunted with deer: but they saw none. Amongst other fowl[s], they saw a milk-white fowl with a very black head.

This day, some garden seeds were sown.

Friday, the 16th [March 1621], a fair warm day towards [*promising*].

This morning, we determined to conclude of the Military Orders: which we had begun to consider of before: but were interrupted by the savages; as we mentioned formerly.

And whilst we were busied hereabout, we were interrupted again. For there presented himself a savage; which caused an alarm.

He very boldly came all alone, and along the houses, straight to the randevous: where we intercepted him, not suffering him to go in; as undoubtedly he would, out of his boldness.

He saluted us in English, and bade us "Welcome!" For he had learned some broken English amongst the Englishmen that came to fish at Monchiggon [*Monhegan*,

off the coast of Maine]; and knew by name the most of the Captains, Commanders, and Masters that usually come [there].

He was a man free in speech, so far as he could express his mind; and of a seemly carriage.

We questioned him of many things. He was the first savage we could meet withal. He said, He was not of these parts; but of Morattigon,* and one of the Sagamores or Lords thereof; and had been eight months [*July* 1620 — *March* 1621] in these parts. It lying hence a day's sail with a great wind; and five days by land. He discoursed of the whole country, and of every province; and of their Sagamores, and their number of men and strength.

The wind beginning to rise a little, we cast a horseman's coat about him: for he was stark naked, [having] only a leather about his waist, with a fringe about a span long or [a] little more. He had a bow, and two arrows; the one headed, and the other unheaded. He was a tall straight man. The hair of his head [was] black; long behind, only short before: none on his face at all.

He asked [for] some beer; but we gave him strong water [*spirits: ? brandy*], and biscuit, and butter, and cheese, and pudding, and a piece of a mallard: all which

* Samoset was a native of Pemaquid; and Chief and original proprietor of what is now the town of Bristol, Maine. He seems to have gone on board of Captain Dermer's ship at Monhegan; when he was on his way to those shores, with Squanto, on his pacific mission, 1619/1620: and to have been landed by Dermer on Cape Cod; when he redeemed there the shipwrecked Frenchmen from their savage captors. This was only six months before the *Mayflower* arrived; and the Pemmaquid Chief still lingered among his new friends: delayed by that overruling Providence which needed him for the use of interpreter, to which he was now put. — H. M. Dexter, *Lib. of New England History*, I. 83, Ed. 1865, 4.

he liked well; and had been acquainted with such amongst the English.

He told us the place where we now live is called Patuxet: and that, about four years ago [*in* 1617], all the inhabitants died of an extraordinary plague; and there is neither man, woman, nor child remaining; as indeed we have found none. So as there is none to hinder our possession, or to lay claim unto it.

All the afternoon, we spent in communication with him. We would gladly have been rid of him at night: but he was not willing to go this night. Then we thought to carry him on shipboard; wherewith he was well content, and went into the shallop: but the wind was high, and the water scant [*shallow*], that it could not return back. We lodged him, that night, at STEPHEN HOPKINS's house; and watched him.

The next day [, Saturday, the 17th], he went away, back to the Masasoits; from whence, he said, he came: who are our next bordering neighbours. There are sixty strong, as he saith.

The Nausites are as near south-east [*or rather* north-east] of them, and are a hundred strong; and those were they, of whom our people were encountered; as we before related [at pp. 431-434]. They are much incensed and provoked against the English: and about eight months ago [? *July* 1620], slew three Englishmen; and two more hardly escaped by flight to Monhiggon [*Monhegan*]. They were Sir FERDINANDO GORGES his men; as this savage told us. As he did likewise of the *huggerie*, that is "fight," that our Discoverers had with the Nausites [*see pp.* 431-434]: and of our tools that were taken out of the woods; which we willed him should be brought again, otherwise we would right ourselves.

These people are ill affected towards the English, by

reason of one [Captain THOMAS] HUNT, a Master of a ship; who deceived the people; and got them, under colour of trücking [*appearance of bartering*] with them, twenty out of this very place where we inhabit, and seven from the Nausites: and carried them away [to Spain], and sold them for slaves for £20 a man; like a wretched man that cares not what mischief he doth for his profit.

Saturday, in the morning, we dismissed the savage; and gave him a knife, a bracelet, and a ring. He promised, within a night or two, to come again; and to bring with him, some of the Massasoyts, our neighbours, with such beavers' skins as they had, to truck with us.

Saturday and Sunday [were] reasonably fair days.

On this day [*Sunday, the 18th March* 1621], came again the savage; and brought with him five other tall proper [*sturdy*] men. They had, every man, a deer's skin on him; and the principal of them had a wild cat's skin, or such like, on the one arm. They had, most of them, long hosen [*leggings*, or *gaiters*] up to their groins, close[ly] made; and above their groins to their waist, another leather. They were altogether like the Irish trouses [*trousers*].

They are of complexion like our English Gypsies. No hair, or very little, on their faces. On their heads, long hair to their shoulders; only cut before: some [with it] trussed up before with a feather, broadwise like a fan; another [with a] fox's tail hanging out.

These left, according to our charge given him before, their bows and arrows a quarter of a mile from our town.

We gave them entertainment as we thought was fitting [to] them. They did eat liberally of our English victuals. They made semblance unto us of friendship

and amity. They sang and danced after their manner, like antics [*grotesque persons*]. They brought with them, in a thing like a [long-]bow case [*leathern girdle*], which the principal of them had about his waist, a little of their corn pounded to powder [*parched meal*]; which put to a little water, they eat. He had a little tobacco in a bag: but none of them drank [it, *i.e. smoked it*], but when he listed. Some of them had their faces painted black, from the forehead to the chin, four or five fingers broad: others, after other fashions, as they liked.

They brought three or four skins, but we would not truck at all that day; but wished them to bring more, and we would truck for all: which they promised within a night or two; and would leave these behind them, though we were not willing they should. And they brought us all our tools again; which were taken in the woods in our men's absence.

So, because of the day [*i.e. Sunday*], we dismissed them so soon as we could.

But SAMOSET, our first acquaintance, either was sick, or feigned himself so; and would not go with them, and stayed with us till Wednesday morning.

Then we sent him to them, to know the reason they came not, according to their words: and we gave him a hat, a pair of stockings and shoes, a shirt, and a piece of cloth to be about his waist [*i.e. a loin cloth*].

The Sabbath Day, when we sent them from us, we gave every one of them some trifles; especially the principal of them. We carried [*escorted*] them along, with our arms [*armed men*], to the place where they left their bows and arrows: whereat they were amazed; and two of them began to slink away, but the others called them.

When they took their arrows, we bade them

farewell; and they were glad. And so, with many thanks given us, they departed; with promise they would come again.

Monday and Tuesday proved fair days. We digged our grounds, and sowed our garden seeds.

Wednesday [, the 21st March, was] a fine warm day. We sent away SAMOSET.

That day, we had again a Meeting to conclude the Laws and Orders for ourselves; and to confirm those Military Orders that were formerly propounded, and twice broken off by the savages' coming: but so we were the third time.

For, after we had been an hour together, on the top of the hill over against us [*i.e. Watson's Hill*], two or three savages presented themselves; and made semblance of daring us, as we thought. So Captain STANDISH with another, with their muskets, went over [the Town Brook] to them; with two of the Master's Mates, that followed them without arms [? *side arms*], having two muskets with them.

They whetted [*sharpened*] and rubbed their arrows and strings; and made show of defiance: but when our men drew near them, they ran away.

Thus we were again interrupted by them.

This day, with much ado, we got our Carpenter [i.e. of the *Mayflower*], that had been long sick of the scurvy, to fit our shallop, to fetch all from aboard. [*On this day therefore, the Pilgrim Fathers finally left the* Mayflower.]

Thursday, the 22nd of March [1621], was a very fair warm day.

About noon, we met again about our public business: but we had scarce been an hour together, but SAMOSET came again; and SQUANTO, the only [surviving] native of Patuxet, where we now inhabit (Who was one of the

twenty captives that, by HUNT, were carried away; and had been in England, and dwelt in Cornhill [in London] with Master JOHN SLANY, a Merchant; and could speak a little English), with three others: and they brought with them, some few skins to truck; and some red herrings newly taken and dried, but not salted.

And [they] signified unto us, that their great Sagamore MASASOYT was hard by, with QUADEQUINA his brother, and all their men. They could not well express in English what they would: but, after an hour, the King came to the top of a hill over against us [*Watson's Hill*], and had in his train sixty men; that we could well behold them, and they us.

We were not willing to send our Governor [JOHN CARVER] to them; and they [were] unwilling to come to us. So SQUANTO went again unto him; who brought word that we should send one to parley with him: which we did, which was EDWARD WINSLOW; to know his mind, and to signify the mind and will of our Governor, which was to have trading and peace with him.

We sent to the King a pair of knives, and a copper chain with a jewel to it. To QUADEQUINA, we sent likewise a knife, and a jewel to hang in his ear. And withal a pot of strong water [*spirits, ? brandy*]; a good quantity of biscuit, and some butter: which were all willingly accepted.

Our messenger made a speech unto him, That King JAMES saluted him with words of love and peace, and did accept of him as his friend and ally; and that our Governor desired to see him, and to truck with him, and to confirm a peace with him, as his next neighbour.

He liked well of the speech, and heard it attentively: though the interpreters did not well express it.

After he had eaten and drunk himself, and [had] given the rest to his company; he looked upon our messenger's sword and armour which he had on, with intimation of his desire to buy it: but, on the other side, our messenger showed his unwillingness to part with it.

In the end, he left him in the custody of QUADEQUINA his brother; and came over the brook [*the Town Brook*], and some twenty men following him, leaving all their bows and arrows behind them. We kept six or seven as hostages for our messenger.

Captain STANDISH and Master WILLIAMSON [*or rather* ALLERTON. *None of the Pilgrim Fathers, then at Plymouth, was named* WILLIAMSON] met the King at the brook, with half a dozen musketeers. They saluted him; and he, them. So on going over, the one on the one side, and the other on the other, conducted him to a house then in building; where we placed a green rug, and three or four cushions.

Then instantly came our Governor [JOHN CARVER], with [a] drum and [a] trumpet after him, and some few musketeers.

After salutations, our Governor kissing his hand, the King kissed him: and so they sat down.

The Governor called for some strong water, and drank to him: and he drank a great draught [of it] that made him sweat all the while after. He called for a little fresh meat: which the King did eat willingly, and did give his followers.

They then treated of peace, which was

1. *That neither he, nor any of his, should injure, or do hurt, to any of our people.*

The Agreements of Peace between us and Massasoyt.

2. *And if any of his did hurt to any of ours; he should send the offender* [*to us*], *that we might punish him.*
3. *That if any of our tools were taken away, when our people were at work; he should cause them to be restored: and if ours did any harm to any of his, we would do the like to them.*
4. *If any did unjustly war against him; we would aid him. If any did war against us, he should aid us.*
5. *He should send to his neighbour*[*ing*] *confederates, to certify them of this, that they might not wrong us; but might be likewise comprised in the Conditions of Peace.*
6. *That when their men came to us, they should leave their bows and arrows behind them; as we should do our pieces, when we came to them.*
7. *Lastly, that doing thus, King* JAMES *would esteem of him as his friend and ally.*

All which the King seemed to like well; and it was applauded of his followers.

All the while he sat by the Governor, he trembled for fear.

In his person, he is a very lusty man, in his best years, [of] an able body, grave of countenance, and spare of speech. In his attire, [he was] little or nothing differing from the rest of his followers: only in a great chain of white bone beads about his neck; and at it, behind his neck, hangs a little bag of tobacco, which he drank [*smoked*] and gave us to drink [*smoke*]. His face was painted with a sad [*deep*] red like murrey [*the colour of a mulberry*]; and [he] oiled both head and face, that he looked greasily. All his followers likewise

were, in their faces, in part, or in whole, painted: some black, some red, some yellow, and some white; some with crosses, and other antic [*grotesque*] works. Some had skins on them, and some [were] naked: all strong, tall, all [*and tall*] men in appearance.

So, after all was done, the Governor conducted him to the brook: and there they embraced each other, and he departed; we diligently keeping our hostages.

We expected our messenger's coming: but anon word was brought us, that QUADDEQUINA was coming; and our messenger was stayed till his return.

Who presently came and a troop [*company*] with him. So likewise we entertained him, and conveyed him to the place prepared. He was very fearful of our pieces [*muskets*]; and made signs of dislike, that they should be carried away: whereupon commandment was given that they should be laid away. He was a very proper tall young man, of a very modest and seemly countenance; and he did kindly like of our entertainment. So we conveyed him likewise, as we did the King: but divers of their people stayed still.

When he was returned; then they dismissed our messenger. Two of his people would have stayed all night: but we would not suffer it.

One thing I forgot. The King had in his bosom, hanging at a string, a great long knife. He marvelled much at our trumpet; and some of his men would sound it as well as they could.

SAMOSET and SQUANTO, they stayed all night with us: and the King, and all his men, lay all night in the woods, not above half an English mile from us; and all their wives and women with them.

They said that, within eight or nine days, they would come and set corn on the other side of the brook

[*the Town Brook*], and dwell there all summer; which is hard by us.

That night, we kept good watch: but there was no appearance of danger.

The next morning [of Friday, 23rd March], divers of their people came over [the Town Brook] to us; hoping to get some victuals, as we imagined.

Some of them told us, The King would have some of us come [to] see him.

Captain STANDISH and ISAAC ALLERTON went venturously: who were welcomed of him, after their manner. He gave them three or four groundnuts, and some tobacco.

We cannot yet conceive but that he is willing to have peace with us. For they have seen our people sometimes alone, [or] two or three, in the woods, at work and fowling: when as they offered them no harm, as they might easily have done. And especially because he hath a potent adversary, the Narowhiganseis [*Narragansetts*] that are at war with him: against whom, he thinks, [that] we may be some strength to him; for our pieces are terrible unto them.

This morning, they stayed till ten or eleven of the clock; and our Governor bade them send the King's kettle, and [he] filled it full of pease: which pleased them well. And so they went their way.

Friday [, the 23rd March,] was a very fair day. SAMOSET and SQUANTO * still remained with us.

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* Afterwards they, as many as were able, began to plant their corn. In which service, SQUANTO stood them in great stead: showing them, both the manner how to set it; and after how to dress and tend it. Also he told them, except they got fish, and set with it [*i.e. manured the ground with alewives, at the time of setting: see* pp. 488, 595]; in these old grounds, it would come to nothing. And he showed them, that in the middle of

SQUANTO went, at noon, to fish for eels [? *at Eel River*]. At night, he came home with as many as he could well lift in one hand; which our people were glad of. They were fat and sweet. He trod them out with his feet; and so caught them with his hands, without any other instrument.

This day, we proceeded on with our common business; from which we had been so often hindered by the savages' coming: and concluded both of Military Orders, and of some Laws and Orders: as we thought behoveful for our present estate and condition. And [we] did likewise choose [*i.e. re-elect*] our Governor for this year; which was Master JOHN CARVER, a man well approved amongst us.

April, they should have store enough [of fish] come up the brook [*the Town Brook*] by which they began to build: and taught them how to take it. And [he told them] where to get other provisions necessary for them. All which they found true, by trial and experience.

Some English seed they sew [*sowed*], as wheat and pease: but it came not to good; either by the badness of the seed, or lateness of the season, or both, or some other defect. *Bradford MS.*, fol. 141.

A Journey to Packanokik, the habitation of the great King, Massasoyt. As also our Message, [and] the Answer and intertainment we had of him.

IT seemed good to the Company, for many considerations, to send some amongst them to Massasoyt, the greatest Commander amongst the savages bordering about us: partly to know where to find them, if occasion served; as also to see their strength, discover the country, prevent abuses in their disorderly coming to us, make satisfaction for some conceived injuries to be [*have been*] done on our parts, and to continue the league of peace and friendship between them and us.

For these, and the like, ends; it pleased the Governor to make choice of Stephen Hopkins and Edward Winslow to go unto him. And having a fit opportunity by reason of a savage called Tisquantum, that could speak English, coming unto us; with all expedition [we] provided a horseman's coat of red cotton, and laced with a slight [*small*] lace, for a present; that both they and their message might be the more acceptable amongst them. The message was as followeth:

That forasmuch as his subjects came often, and without fear, upon all occasions, amongst us; so we were now come unto him: and in witness of the love and good will the English bear unto him, the Governor hath sent him a coat; desiring that the peace and

amity that was between them and us might be continued. Not that we feared them: but because we intended not to injure any: desiring to live peaceably; and as with all men, so especially with them, our nearest neighbours.

But whereas his people came very often, and very many together, to us; bringing, for the most part, their wives and children with them; they were welcome: yet (we being but strangers as yet at Patuxet alias *New Plymouth; and not knowing how our corn might prosper) we could no longer give them such entertainment as we had done, and as we desired still to do. Yet, if he would be pleased to come himself; or [if] any special friend of his desired to see us, coming from him, they should be welcome. And to the end we might know them from others, our Governor had sent him a copper chain; desiring if any messenger should come from him to us, we might know him, by [his] bringing it with him; and hearken, and give credit, to his message accordingly. Also requesting him, that such as have skins, should bring them to us; and that he would hinder the multitude from oppressing us, with them[selves].*

And whereas, at our first arrival at Paomet [Pamet], *called by us, Cape Cod, we found there corn buried in the ground; and, finding no inhabitants but some graves of [the] dead new[ly] buried, took the corn: resolving if ever we could hear of any that had right thereunto, to make satisfaction to the full for it. Yet, since we understand the owners thereof were fled for fear of us, our desire was either to pay them with the like quantity of corn* [maize], *[of] English meal, or any other commodities we had, to pleasure them withal. Requesting him, that some one of his men might signify*

so much unto them; and we would content him for his pains.

And, last of all, our Governor requested one favour of him; which was that he would exchange some of their corn for seed, with us; that we might make trial which best agreed with the soil where we live.*

With these presents and [this] Message, we set forward [Sunday] the 10th [of] June [*This date is considered to be an error. Governor* BRADFORD (*Bradford MS.*, folio 143) *states that the messengers started on Monday, 2nd July* 1621], about nine a clock in the morning; our guide [TISQUANTUM] resolving that night to rest at Namaschet [*Middleborough*],† a town under MASSASOYT: and conceived by us to be very near, because the Indians flocked so thick, upon every slight occasion, amongst us; but we found it to be some fifteen English miles.

On the way, we found some ten or twelve men women and children, which had pestered [*annoyed*] us till we were weary of them: perceiving that, as the manner of them all is, where victual is easiliest to be got, there they live, especially in the summer; by reason whereof, our Bay affording many lobsters, they resort every spring-tide thither; and now returned with us to Namaschet.

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* Probably what is now called Rhode Island corn, which is a different species from that usually raised in Massachusetts; yielding a more delicate and whiter meal.—H. M. DEXTER, *Lib. of New England Hist.*, I. 100, Ed. 1865, 4.

† The spot so designated here is in what is now Middleborough, on the Nemasket river; about thirty rods above the bridge, passed in going from the Green to the Four Corners, on the Middleborough and Plymouth road: being the rapids near the Lower Factory, which is now called the Star Mills.—H. M. DEXTER, *Lib. of New England Hist.*, I. 101, Ed. 1865, 4.

Thither we came about three a clock after noon, the inhabitants entertaining us with joy in the best manner they could: giving us a kind of bread, called by them *maizium*, and the spawn of shads which then they got in abundance, insomuch as they gave us spoons to eat them [with]. With these, they boiled musty acorns: but of the shads, we eat heartily.

After this, they desired one of our [two] men to shoot at a crow; complaining what damage they sustained in their corn by them: who shooting some fourscore [yards] off, and killing; they much admired [*wondered at*] it, as [at] other shots, on other occasions.

After this, TISQUANTUM told us, we should hardly in one day reach Pakanokick [*Pokanoket*]; moving us to go some eight miles further, where we should find more store and better victuals than there.

Being willing to hasten our journey, we went; and came thither at sunsetting: where we found many of the Namascheucks, they so calling the men of Namaschet, fishing upon a ware [*wear*],* which they had made on a river which belonged to them; where they caught abundance of bass.

These welcomed us also, gave us of their fish; and we, them of our victuals: not doubting but we should have enough wherever we came.

There we lodged in the open fields: for houses [*wigwams*] they had none, though they spent most of the summer there.

The head of this river [*the Titicut*] is reported to be

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* Probably at the Old Indian Wear, so called, near Titicut, in the north-west part of Middleborough; two or three miles south-west of the junction of the Nemasket, with the Taunton river.—H. M. DEXTER, *Lib. of New England Hist.*, I. 102, Ed. 1865, 4.

not far from the place of our abode. [*It rises within six miles of Plymouth.*] Upon it are, and have been, many towns: it being [of] a good length. The ground is very good on both sides; it being for the most part cleared. Thousands of men have lived there; which died in a great plague not long since: and pity it was, and is, to see so many goodly fields, and so well seated, without men to dress and manure the same.

Upon this river [*the Taunton*] dwelleth MASSASOYT. It cometh into the sea at the Narrohiganset [*Narragansett*] Bay: where the Frenchmen so much use [*frequent*]. A ship may go many miles up it, as the savages report; and a shallop to the head of it: but so far as we saw, we are sure a shallop may.

But to return to our journey. The next morning [, *Tuesday, the 3rd July*], we brake our fast, took our leave, and departed; being then accompanied with some six savages.

Having gone about six miles by the river side, at a known shoal place,* it being low water; they spake to us to put off our breeches, for we must wade through.

Here let me not forget the valour and courage of some of the savages on the opposite side of the river. For there were remaining alive [there] only two men, both aged; especially the one, being above three score. These two, espying a company of [8] men entering the river, ran very swiftly and low in the grass, to meet us at the bank: where, with shrill voices and great courage, standing, [they] charged upon us with their bows. They demanded, What we were? supposing us to be

* There seems to be no doubt that this crossing-place was at what is now known as Squabetty, 3¼ miles east-by-south of Taunton Green.—H. M. DEXTER, *Lib. of New England Hist.*, I. 103, Ed. 1865, 4.

enemies; and thinking to take advantage on us in the water. But seeing we were friends, they welcomed us with such food as they had: and we bestowed a small bracelet of beads on them. Thus far, we are sure, the tide ebbs and flows.

Having here again refreshed ourselves, we proceeded in our journey; the weather being very hot for travel: yet the country [was] so well watered, that a man could scarce be dry [*thirsty*] but he should have a spring at hand to cool his thirst; besides small rivers in abundance. But the savages will not willingly drink but at a spring head.

When we came to any small brook, where no bridge was; two of them desired to carry us through, of their own accords. Also fearing we were, or would be, weary; [they] offered to carry our pieces. Also if we would lay off any of our clothes, we should have them carried; and as the one of them had found more special kindness from one of the messengers, and the other savage from the other, so they shewed their thankfulness accordingly, in affording us all help and furtherence in the journey.

As we passed along, we observed that there were few places by the river but had been inhabited; by reason whereof, much ground was clear, save of weeds which grew higher than our heads. There is [there] much good timber; both oak, walnut tree, fir, beech, and exceeding great chestnut trees.

The country, in respect of the lying [*lay*] of it, is both champanie [*open and level*] and hilly, like many places in England. In some places, it is very rocky; both above ground and under it. And though the country be wild and overgrown with woods; yet the trees stand not thick, but a man may well ride a horse amongst them.

Passing on, at length, one of the company, an Indian, espied a man; and told the rest of it. We asked them, If they feared any?

They told us, That if they were Narrohigganset [*Narragansett*] men, they would not trust them.

Whereat, we called for our pieces [*muskets*]; and bade them not to fear: for, though they were twenty, we two alone would not care for them.

But they hailing him, he proved a friend; and had only two women with him. Their baskets were empty; but they fetched water in their bottles: so that we drank with them, and departed.

After, we met another man with other two women; which had been at [a] randevow [*encampment*] by the salt water; and their baskets were full of roasted crab fishes, and other dried shellfish. Of which they gave us; and we eat and drank with them: and gave each of the women a string of beads, and departed.

After, we came to a town * of MASSASOYT's; where we eat oysters and other fish.

From thence, we went to Packanokick †: but MASSASOYT was not at home. There we stayed; he being sent for.

When news was brought of his coming, our guide TISQUANTUM requested that, at our meeting, we would discharge our pieces. But one of us going about to charge his piece; the women and children, through fear

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* This was probably at Matapuyst [*see pages* 471, 548, 556] now known as Gardner's Neck, in Swansey, Massa.—H. M. DEXTER, *Lib. of New England Hist.*, I. 106, Ed. 1865, 4.

† While Packanokik was a general name for the Wampanoag territory, in the neighbourhood of what are now Warren, Bristol, &c., Rhode Island; the Indian village here intended was Sowams, built around the spring, called Massasoit's Spring, near Baker's Wharf, in Warren.—*Idem.*

to see him take up his piece, ran away; and could not be pacified till he laid it down again; who afterward were better informed by our interpreter.

MASSASOYT being come [*on Wednesday, 4th July*] we discharged our pieces, and saluted him: who (after their manner) kindly welcomed us, and took us into his house, and set us down by him. Where, having delivered our foresaid Message, and presents; and [he] having put the coat on his back and the chain about his neck; he was not a little proud to behold himself, and his men also to see their King, so bravely attired.

For Answer to our Message, he told us:

We were welcome; and he would gladly continue that peace and friendship which was between him and us; and for his men, they should no more pester us as they had done. Also that he would send to Paomet [Pamet]*; and would help us with corn for seed: according to our request.*

This being done, his men gathered near to him: to whom he turned himself, and made a great speech; they sometimes interposing, and, as it were, confirming and applauding him in that he said. The meaning whereof was, as far as we could learn, thus:

Was not he, MASSASOYT, Commander of the country about them? Was not such a town his, and the people of it? and should they not bring their skins unto us?

To which they answered, These were his; and would be at peace with us, and bring their skins to us.

After this manner, he named at least thirty places; and their answer was as aforesaid, to every one: so that, as it was delightful, [so] it was tedious, unto us.

This being ended; he lighted tobacco for us: and fell

to discoursing of England and of the King's Majesty; marvelling that he would live without a wife [*Queen* ANNE *(of Denmark) had died in* 1619]. Also he talked of the Frenchmen; bidding us not to suffer them to come to Narrohiganset [*Naragansett*], for it was King JAMES his country; and he also was King JAMES his man.

Late it grew; but victuals he offered none: for indeed he had not any; [it] being he came so newly home. So we desired to go to rest.

He laid us on the bed with himself and his wife; they at one end, and we at the other: it being only planks laid a foot from the ground, and a thin mat upon them. Two more of his chief men, for want of room pressed by and upon us: so that we were worse weary of our lodging, than of our journey.

The next day, being Thursday [, *5th July*], many of their Sachems or petty Governors came to see us; and many of their men also. There, they went to their manner of games for skins and knives. There, we challenged them to shoot with them for skins: but they durst not. Only they desired to see one of us shoot at a mark: who shooting with hail shot [*bird shot*], they wondered to see the mark so full of holes.

About one of the clock, MASSASOYT brought two fishes [*? bass*] that he had shot [with an arrow]. They were like bream; but three times so big, and better meat. These being boiled; there were at least forty [that] looked for share in them. The most eat of them. This meal only we had in two nights and a day [*i.e. at Sowams*]: and had not one of us bought a partridge, we had taken our journey fasting.

Very importunate he was, to have us stay with him longer: but we desired to keep the Sabbath at home; and feared we should be lightheaded for want of

sleep. For what with bad lodging; the savages' barbarous singing, for they use to sing themselves asleep; lice and fleas within doors; and muskeetoes [*mosquitoes*] without: we could hardly sleep all the time of our being there. We much feared that if we should stay any longer, we should not be able to recover home for want of strength.

So that, on the Friday morning [, *6th July*], before sunrising, we took our leave and departed; MASSASOYT being both grieved and ashamed that he could no better entertain us: and, retaining TISQUANTUM to send from place to place to procure truck for us, he appointed another, called TOKAMAHAMON, in his place; whom we had found faithful before, and after, on all occasions.

At this town of MASSASOYT's where we before eat, [? *Matapuyst*], we were again refreshed with a little fish: and bought about a handful of meal of their parched corn, which was very precious at that time of the year; and a small string of dried shellfish, as big as oysters. The latter we gave to the six savages that accompanied us; keeping the meal for ourselves. When we drank, we eat each a spoonful of it, [together] with [smoking] a pipe of tobacco; instead of other victuals: and of this also, we could not but give them, so long as it lasted.

Five miles, they led us, to a house, out of the way, in hope of victuals: but we found nobody there; and so were but worse able to return home.

That night we reached to the wire [*Wear*, near Titicut] where we lay before: but the Namascheucks were returned; so that we had no hope of anything there. One of the savages had shot a shad in the water; and a small squirrel, as big as a rat, called a *Neuxis*. The one

half of either, he gave us: and after went to the wire to fish.

From hence, we wrote to Plymouth: and sent TOKAMAHAMON before to Namasket; willing him from thence to send another [to Plymouth], that he might meet us with food at Namasket.

Two men now only remained with us; and it pleased GOD to give them good store of fish, so that we were well refreshed.

After supper, we went to rest; and they to fishing again. More they gat, and fell to eating afresh; and retained sufficient, ready roast[ed] for all our breakfasts. About two a clock in the morning [*of Saturday, 7th July*], arose a great storm of wind, rain, lightning, and thunder, in such [a] violent manner that we could not keep in our fire: and had the savages not roasted fish when we were asleep, we had set forward fasting; for the rain still continued with great violence, even the whole day through, till we came within two miles of home.

Being wet and weary, at length, we came to Namaschet. There we refreshed ourselves; giving gifts to all such as had shewed us any kindness.

Amongst others, one of the six that came with us from Packanokik (having, before this, on the way unkindly forsaken us) marvelled we gave him nothing; and told us, what he had done for us.

We also told him of some discourtesies he offered us, whereby he deserved nothing: yet we gave him a small trifle.

Whereupon he offered us tobacco.

But, the house being full of people, we told him, He stole some by the way; and if it were of that, we would not take it: for we would not receive that which was

stolen upon any terms. If we did, our God would be angry with us, and destroy us.

This abashed him; and gave the rest great content. But, at our departure [from Namasket (*Middleborough*)], he would needs carry him on his back through a river; whom he had formerly, in some sort, abused.

Fain they would have had us to lodge there all night; and wondered we would set forth again in such weather: but, GOD be praised! we came safe home that night; though wet, weary, and surbated [*footsore*].

A Voyage made by ten of our men to the Kingdom of Nauset, to seek a boy that had lost himself in the woods. With such accidents as befell us in that Voyage.

THE 11th of June [*This date is considered to be an error. Governor* Bradford (*Bradford M.S.*, folio 145) *states*, About the latter end of this month [*July* 1621], one John Billington lost himself in the woods; and wandered up and down some five days, living on berries and what he could find. *This rescue expedition was therefore in August.*], we set forth, the weather being very fair: but, ere we had been long at sea, there arose a storm of wind and rain, with much lightning and thunder, insomuch that a spout [*water spout*] arose not far from us. But, GOD be praised! it dured not long: and we put in, that night, for harbour, at a place, called Cummaquid [*Barnstable harbour*]; where we had some hope to find the boy [*John Billington junior*]. Two savages were in the boat with us: the one was Tisquantum our interpreter; the other Tokamahamon, a special friend. It being night, before we came in; we anchored in the midst of the bay: where we were dry [*aground*] at a low water.

In the morning, we espied savages seeking lobsters; and sent our two interpreters to speak with them, the channel being between them. Where they told them, What we were, and for what we were come;

willing them not at all to fear us, for we would not hurt them.

Their answer was, That the boy was well, but he was at Nauset; yet since we were there, they desired us to come ashore and eat with them. Which, as soon as our boat floated, we did; and went six [of us] ashore, having four pledges for them in the boat.

They brought us to their Sachem or Governor, whom they call IYANOUGH, a man not exceeding twentysix years of age; but very personable [*comely*], gentle, courteous, and fair conditioned: indeed not like a savage, save for his attire. His entertainment was answerable to his parts; and his cheer plentiful and various.

One thing was very grievous unto us at this place. There was an old woman, whom we judged to be no less than a hundred years old; which came to see us because she never saw English [before]: yet could not behold us, without breaking forth into [a] great passion, weeping and crying excessively. We demanding the reason of it; they told us, She had three sons, who, when Master HUNT was in these parts, went aboard his ship to trade with him; and he carried them captives into Spain, for TISQUANTUM at that time was carried away also: by which means, she was deprived of the comfort of her children in her old age.

We told them, We were sorry that any Englishman should give them that offence; that HUNT was a bad man, and that all the English that heard of it condemned him for the same: but for us, we would not offer them any such injury; though it would gain us all the skins in the country. So we gave her some small trifles; which somewhat appeased her.

After dinner, we took boat for Nauset [*Eastham*];

IYANOUGH and two of his men accompanying us. Ere we came to Nauset, the day and tide were almost spent, insomuch as we could not go in with our shallop: but the Sachem or Governor of Cummaquid went ashore, and his men with him. We also sent TISQUANTUM to tell ASPINET, the Sachem of Nauset, wherefore we came.

The savages here came very thick amongst us, and were earnest with us to bring in our boat; but we neither well could: nor yet desired to do it, because we had less cause to trust them; being they only [*they being those who*] had formerly made an assault upon us, in the same place, in [the] time of our winter Discovery for [a place of] habitation [, *see pp.* 431-434]. And indeed it was no marvel they did so: for howsoever [then], through snow or otherwise, we saw no houses; yet we were [then] in the midst of them.

When our boat was aground, they came very thick; but we stood therein upon our guard: not suffering any to enter except two, the one being of Maramoick [? *Monomoyick*, now *Chatham*]; and one of those, whose corn we had formerly found. We promised him restitution: and desired him either to come to Patuxet for satisfaction; or else we would bring them so much corn again. He promised to come. We used him very kindly for the present. Some few skins we gat there; but not many.

After sunset, ASPINET came, with a great train; and brought the boy with him, one bearing him through the water. He had not less than a hundred with him: the half whereof came to the shallop side unarmed with him; the other [half] stood aloof [*at a distance*], with their bows and arrows. There he delivered us the boy, behung with beads; and made peace with us: we

bestowing a knife on him; and likewise on another that first entertained the boy, and brought him thither. So they departed from us.

Here, we understood that the Narrohigansets [*Narragansetts*] had spoiled some of MASSASOYT's men, and taken him. This struck some fear in us: because the Colony was so weakly guarded [*It will be seen from page* 359, *that, excluding these ten men, there were now only* 22 *adult males at Plymouth*] the strength [*the picked men*] thereof being abroad [*away here at Eastham*].

But we set forth with resolution to make the best haste home we could. Yet the wind being contrary; [and] having scarce any fresh water left, and at least sixteen leagues [, =48 *miles*, to] home, we put in again for the shore. There we met again with IYANOUGH, the Sachem of Cummaquid; and the most of his town, both men women and children, with him. He being still willing to gratify us, took a rundlet [*containing* 18 *gallons*], and led our men in the dark a great way for water; but could find none good: yet brought such as there was, on his neck, with them. In the mean time, the women joined hand in hand, singing and dancing, before the shallop; the men also shewing all the kindness they could. IYANOUGH himself taking a bracelet from about his neck, and hanging it upon one of us.

Again, we set out: but to small purpose, for we gat but little homeward. Our water also was very brackish; and not to be drunk.

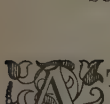
The next morning, IYANOUGH espied us again; and ran after us. We, being resolved to go to Cummaquid again to water, took him into the shallop: whose

entertainment [there, then,] was not inferior unto the former [occasion].

The soil at Nauset and here [at Cummaquid] is alike, even and sandy: not so good for corn as where we are. Ships may safely ride in either harbour. In summer, they abound with fish.

Being now watered, we put forth again; and, by GOD's Providence, came safely home that night.

A Journey to the Kingdom of Namaschet, in defence of the great King, Massasoyt, against the Narrohiggansets; and to revenge the supposed death of our interpreter Tisquantum.



T our return from Nauset, we found it true that Massasoyt was put from his country by the Narrohiggansets [*Narragansetts*].

Word also was brought unto us, That one Coubatant [*or* Caunbatant. *Bradford spells this name* Corbitant], a petty Sachem or Governor under Massasoyt, whom they ever feared to be too conversant [*intimate*] with the Narrohiggansets, was at Namaschet [*Middleborough*]: who sought to draw the hearts of Massasoyt's subjects from him; speaking also disdainfully of us; storming at the Peace between Nauset, Cummaquid, and us; and at Tisquantum the worker of it; also at Tokamahamon and one Hobbamock [*or* Hobomok], two Indians or Lemes [*This word is thought to be a misprint*]; one of which he would treacherously have murdered a little before, [he] being a special and trusty man of Massasoyt's.

Tokamahamon went to him [openly]: but the other two would not. Yet, putting their lives in their hands, privately [they] went to see if they could hear of their King; and, lodging at Namaschet, were discovered to Coubatant [Caunbatant, *or* Corbitant]: who set a guard to beset the house, and took Tisquantum; for he said, If he were dead; the English had lost their tongue.

HOBBAMOCK (seeing that TISQUANTUM was taken; and [that] COUBATANT held a knife at his breast), being a strong and stout man, brake from them: and came to New Plymouth full of fear and sorrow for TISQUANTUM, whom he thought to be slain.

Upon this news, the Company [at Plymouth] assembled together [on Monday, the 13th of August 1621]; and resolved, on the morrow, to send ten men armed to Namaschet, and HOBBAMOCK for their guide; to revenge the supposed death of TISQUANTUM, on COUBATANT our bitter enemy; and to retain [*arrest*] NEPEOF, another Sachem or Governor, who was of this confederacy, till we heard [of] what was become of our friend MASSASOYT.

On the morrow [, Tuesday, the 14th of August], we set out ten men armed; who took their journey as aforesaid: but the day proved very wet.

When we supposed we were within three or four miles of Namaschet; we went out of the way, and stayed there till night: because we would not be discovered. There we consulted what to do: and thinking [it] best to beset the house at midnight, each was appointed his task by the Captain; all men incouraging one another to the utmost of their power.

By night, our guide [HOBOMOK] lost his way; which much discouraged our men: [it] being we were wet, and weary of our arms. But one of our men, having been before at Namaschet, brought us into the way again.

Before we came to the town, we sat down and ate such as our knapsack[s] afforded. That being done, we threw them aside; and all such things as might hinder us: and so went on, and beset the house; according to our last resolution.

Those that entered, demanded, If COUBATANT were not there? But fear had bereft the savages of speech.

We charged them not to stir: for if COUBATANT were not there, we would not meddle with them. If he were, we came principally for him, to be avenged on him, for the supposed death of TISQUANTUM; and other matters: but, howsoever, we would not at all hurt their women or children.

Notwithstanding, some of them pressed out at a private door, and escaped; but with some wounds.

At length, perceiving our principal ends, they told us, COUBATANT was returned, with all his train; and that TISQUANTUM was yet living, and in the town: offering some tobacco; [and] such other as they had to eat.

In this hurly burly, we discharged two pieces at random; which much terrified all the inhabitants except TISQUANTUM and TOKAMAHAMON: who, though they knew not our end in comming; yet assured them of our honesty, that we would not hurt them. Those boys that were in the house, seeing our care of [the] women, often cried *Neen squaes*, that is to say, "I am a woman [*or rather* a girl]": the women also hanging upon HOBBAMOCK, calling him *towam*, that is, "friend."

But, to be short, we kept them we had; and made them make a fire, that we might see to search the house. In the meantime, HOBBAMOCK gat on the top of the house; and called TISQUANTUM and TOKAMAHAMON: which came unto us, accompanied with others; some armed, and others naked [*unarmed*].

Those that had bowes and arrows, we took them away [from them]; promising them again when it was day. The house we took for our better safeguard; but

released those we had taken; manifesting whom we came for, and wherefore.

On the next morning [, Wednesday, the 15th August], we marched into the midst of the town; and went to the house of TISQUANTUM to breakfast. Thither came all whose hearts were upright towards us: but COUBATANT's faction were fled away.

There, in the midst of them, we manifested again our intendment; assuring them, That although COUBATANT had now escaped us: yet there was no place should secure him and his from us, if he continued his threatening us, and provoking others against us; who had kindly entertained him, and never intended evil towards him, till he now so justly deserved it. Moreover, if MASSASOYT did not return in safety from Narrohigganset [*Narragansett*]; or if hereafter he [*COUBATANT*] should make any insurrection against him; or offer violence to TISQUANTUM, HOBBAMOCK, or any of MASSASOYT's subjects: we would revenge it upon him, to the overthrow of him and his. As for those [who] were wounded: we were sorry for it, though [they] themselves procured it, in not staying in the house at our command; yet, if they would return home with us, our Surgeon [SAMUEL FULLER] should heal them.

At this offer, one man and a woman that were wounded went home with us: TISQUANTUM and many other known friends accompanying us; and offering all help that might be, by carriage of anything we had, to ease us.

So that, by GOD's good Providence, we safely returned home, the morrow [*i.e. the Wednesday*] night after we set forth.

A Relation of our Voyage [*Expedition*] to the Massachusets; and what happened there.

IT seemed good to the Company in general that, though the Massachusets* [*the Indians of Boston Bay*] had often threatened us, as we were informed; yet we should go amongst them: partly to see the country; partly to make peace with them; and partly to procure their truck [*commodities*].

For these ends, the Governor chose ten men fit for the purpose, and sent Tisquantum and two other savages; to bring us to speech with the people, and [to] interpret for us.

We set out about midnight [of Tuesday, 18th September 1621], the tide then serving for us. We, supposing it to be nearer than it is, thought to be there the next morning betimes: but it proved well near twenty leagues [= 60 *miles: but the actual distance by water from Plymouth to Boston is about* 44 *miles*] from New Plymouth.

We came into the bottom of the Bay [*i.e. by Point Allerton to Lighthouse Channel*]; but [it] being late [on Wednesday, the 19th September], we anchored, and lay in the shallop: not having seen any of the people.

* The Indian word *Massachusetts* means, "A hill in the form of an arrow's head": referring to the Blue Hills.—H. M. Dexter, *Lib. of New England Hist.*, I. 124, Ed. 1865, 4.

The next morning [of Thursday, the 20th September], we put in for the shore. There we found many lobsters, that had been gathered together by the savages: which we made ready [*cooked*] under a cliff [*? at the north-east of the peninsula of Squantum*]. The Captain [MILES STANDISH] set two sentinels behind the cliff, to the landward, to secure the shallop: and, taking a guide with him and four of our company, went to seek the inhabitants; where they met a woman coming for her lobsters. They told her of them; and contented her for them. She told them where the people were. TISQUANTUM went to them. The rest returned; having direction[s] which way to bring the shallop to them.

The Sachem or Governor of this place is OBBATINEWAT [*not to be confounded with OBBATINNUA*]: and, though he lives in the bottom of the Massachuset Bay, yet he is under MASSASOYT. He used us very kindly. He told us, He durst not then remain in any settled place; for fear of the Tarentines [*The Tarratines lived on the Penobscot river, Maine*]: also the Squa[w] Sachem, or [the] Massachusets' Queen, was an enemy to him.

We told him of divers Sachems that had [*at Plymouth, on the previous 13th September,*] acknowledged themselves to be King JAMES his men; and if he also would submit himself, we would be his safeguard from his enemies: which he did; and went along with us, to bring us to the Squa[w] Sachem.

Again we crossed the Bay [*from what is now Quincy to Charlestown*], which is very large; and hath at least fifty islands in it, but the certain number is not known to the inhabitants. Night it was, before we came to that side of the Bay where this people were. On shore, the savages went: but found nobody. That night also, we rid at anchor aboard the shallop.

On the morrow [of Friday, the 21st September], we went ashore, all but two men; and marched, in [*under*] arms, up in the country. Having gone three miles; we came to a place where corn [*maize*] had been newly gathered, a house [*wigwam*] pulled down, and the people gone.

A mile from hence [*i.e. at what is now Medford*], NANEPASHEMET their King, in his lifetime, had lived. His house was not like óthers: but a scaffold was largely built [*a large scaffold was built*] with poles and planks, some six feet from [the] ground; and the house, upon that: [it] being situated on the top of a hill [, *now called Rock Hill*].

Not far from hence, in a bottom [*near Mystic Pond, in Medford*], we came to a Fort, built by their deceased King. The manner [of it was] thus:

There were poles, some thirty or forty feet long, stuck in the ground as thick as they could be set one by another: and with these, they inclosed a ring some forty or fifty feet over. A trench, breast high, was digged on each side. One way there was, to go into it; with a bridge. In the midst of this pallizado [*palisade*], stood the frame of a house [*wigwam*]; wherein, being dead, he lay buried.

About a mile from hence, we came to such another; but seated on the top of a hill. Here NANEPASHEMET was killed: none dwelling in it, since the time of his death [*in* 1619].

At this place [now *Medford*] we stayed: and sent two savages to look [for] the inhabitants; and to inform them of our ends in coming, that they might not be fearful of us. Within a mile of this place, they found the women of the place together, with their corn on heaps. Whither we supposed them to be fled for fear

of us: and the more, because in divers places they had newly pulled down their houses: and, for haste in one place, had left some of their corn covered with a mat, and nobody with it.

With much fear, they entertained us at first: but seeing our gentle carriage [*behaviour*] towards them, they took heart and entertained us in the best manner they could; boiling cod, and such other things as they had, for us.

At length, with much sending for, came one of their men, shaking and trembling for fear: but when he saw we intended them no hurt, but came to truck, he promised us his skins also. Of him, we enquired for their Queen: but it seemed she was far from thence. At least, we could not see her.

Here TISQUANTUM would have had us rifle the savage women; and take their skins, and all such things as might be serviceable for us: "for," said he, "they are a bad people; and have often threatened you."

But our answer was, "Were they never so bad; we would not wrong them, or give them any just occasion against us. For their words, we little weighed them: but if they once attempted anything against us, then we would deal far worse than he desired."

Having well spent the day, we returned to the shallop: almost all the women accompanying us, to truck. Who sold their coats from their backs; and tied boughs about them: but with great shamefastness [*shamefacedness*]; for indeed they are more modest than some of our English women are. We promised them, to come again to them; and they, us, to keep their skins [*i.e. beaver skins*].

Within this Bay, the savages say, there are two rivers [, *the Mystic and the Charles*]: the one [*the Mystic*]

whereof we saw, having a fair entrance; but we had no time to discover it. Better harbours for shipping cannot be, than here are. At the entrance of the Bay are many rocks; and, in all likelihood, very good fishing ground. Many, yea, most, of the islands have been inhabitated; some being cleared from end to end: but the people are all dead, or removed.

Our victual[s] growing scarce, the wind coming fair, and having a light moon; we set out at evening: and, through the goodness of GOD, came safely home, before noon the day following [*i.e. Saturday, 22nd September* 1621].

A Letter sent from New England to a friend in these parts [*i.e. England*], setting forth a brief and true Declaration of the worth of that Plantation; as also certain useful directions for such as intend a voyage into those parts.

LOVING and old friend. Although I received no letter from you by this ship [the *Fortune*]: yet, forasmuch as I know you expect the performance of my promise (which was to write unto you truly and faithfully of all things); I have therefore, at this time, sent unto you accordingly; referring you, for further satisfaction, to our more large Relations [*here printed at pp.* 407-487].

You shall understand, that in this little time [*from the* 16*th of December, when the* Mayflower *arrived at Plymouth, to the* 11*th December* 1621, *the first Forefathers' Anniversary*] that a few of us have been here, we have built seven dwelling houses; and four for the use of the Plantation: and have made preparation for divers others.

We set, last Spring, some twenty acres of Indian corn; and sowed some six acres of barley and pease: and, according to the manner of the Indians, we manured our ground with herrings, or rather shads [*alewives*]; which we have in great abundance, and take with great ease at our doors [*i.e. in the Town Brook*].

Our corn did prove well, and, GOD be praised! we

had a good increase of Indian corn; and our barley [was] indifferent[ly] good: but our pease [were] not worth the gathering; for we feared they were too late sown. They came up very well, and blossomed: but the sun parched them in the blossom.

Our harvest being gotten in, our Governor [WILLIAM BRADFORD] sent four men on fowling; that so we might, after a more special manner, rejoice together, after we had gathered the fruit of our labours [*What, in England, would be called, a Harvest Festival. It was the first New England Thanksgiving Day*]. They four, in one day, killed as much fowl as, with a little help besides, served the Company [*by which is here intended, the about fifty English people then left alive in the Colony*] almost a week. At which time, amongst other recreations, we exercised our Arms [*i.e. drilled*]; many of the Indians coming amongst us.

And, amongst the rest, their greatest King, MASSASOYT, with some ninety men; whom, for three days, we entertained and feasted. And they went out, and killed five deer: which they brought to the Plantation; and bestowed on our Governor, and upon the Captain [MILES STANDISH], and others.

And although it be not always so plentiful as it was at this time with us: yet, by the goodness of GOD, we are so far from want, that we often wish you partakers of our plenty.

We have found the Indians very faithful in their Covenant of Peace with us; [and] very loving and ready to pleasure us. We often go to them; and they come to us. Some of us have been fifty miles by land in the country with them [*i.e. to Sowams in Pokanoket; see pp.* 462-473]: the occasions and Relations whereof you shall understand by our general and more full

Declaration [aforesaid] of such things as are worth the noting.

Yea, it hath pleased GOD so to possess the Indians with a fear of us, and love unto us, that not only the greatest King amongst them, called MASSASOYT; but also all the Princes and peoples round about us, have either made suit unto us, or been glad of any occasion to make peace with us: so that seven of them at once have sent their messengers to us to that end. Yea, an isle at sea, which we never saw [*Capawack, now called Martha's Vineyard*], hath also, together with the former, yielded willingly to be under the protection [of], and subjects to, our Sovereign Lord King JAMES. So that there is now great peace amongst the Indians themselves, which was not formerly; neither would have been but for us: and we, for our parts, walk as peaceably and safely in the wood as in the highways in England. We entertain them familiarly in our houses; and they, as friendly, bestowing their venison on us.

They are a people without any religion, or knowledge of any God [*This error WINSLOW corrects at page* 582]; yet very trusty, quick of apprehension, ripe witted, [and] just. The men and women go naked; only a skin about their middles.

For the temper of the air here, it agreeth well with that in England: and if there be any difference at all, this is somewhat hotter in summer. Some think it to be colder in winter: but I cannot, out of experience, so say. The air is very clear; and not foggy, as hath been reported. I never, in my life, remember a more seasonable year than we have here enjoyed: and if we have once but kine, horses, and sheep; I make no question but men might live as contented here as in any part of the world.

For fish and fowl, we have great abundance. Fresh cod, in the summer, is but coarse meat with us. Our Bay is full of lobsters all the summer; and affordeth variety of other fish. In September, we can take a hogshead of eels in a night, with small labour; and can dig them out of their beds. All the winter, we have mussels and othus [*? a misprint for* clams] at our doors. Oysters we have none near: but we can have them brought by the Indians, when we will. All the Spring time, the earth sendeth forth naturally very good sallet herbs [*i.e. vegetables like lettuce, endive, &c. for salad*]. Here are grapes, white and red, and very sweet and strong also; strawberries, gooseberries, raspas [*raspberries*], &c.; plums of three sorts, white, black, and red, being almost as good as a damson: abundance of roses, red, white, and damask; single, but very sweet indeed.

The country wanteth only industrious men to employ [*cultivate it*]. For it would grieve your hearts if (as I) you had seen so many miles together, by goodly rivers, uninhabited: and withal to consider those parts of the world wherein you live, to be even greatly burdened with abundance of people.

These things I thought good to let you understand; being the truth of things, as near[ly] as I could experimentally take knowledge of; and that you might, on our behalf, give GOD thanks, who hath dealt so favourably with us.

Our supply [*reinforcement*] of men from you, came the 9th of November 1621. Putting in at Cape Cod, some eight or ten leagues from us; the Indians that dwell thereabout, [who] were they who were owners of the corn which we found in caves [*? graves*]: for which

we have given them full content, and are in great league with them: they sent us word, There was a ship near unto them, but thought it to be a Frenchman [*a French ship*]; and indeed, for ourselves, we expected not a friend so soon.

But when we perceived she made for our Bay, the Governor [WILLIAM BRADFORD] commanded a great piece [*a cannon*] to be shot off, to call home such as were abroad at work. Whereupon every man, yea, boy that could handle a gun, was ready; with full resolution that, if she were an Enemy, we would stand, in our just defence, not fearing them. But GOD provided for us better than we supposed.

These came all in health unto us; not any being sick by the way, otherwise than by sea sickness: and so continue at this time, by the blessing of GOD. The goodwife FORD was delivered of a son, the first night she landed: and both of them [*mother and child*] are very well.

When it pleaseth GOD, we are settled; and fitted for the fishing business and other trading: I doubt not but, by the blessing of GOD, the gain will give content to all. In the mean time, that we have gotten, we have sent by this ship [the *Fortune*; *see pp.* 506-508]: and though it be not much; yet it will witness for us that we have not been idle; considering the smallness of our number all this summer [*viz.* 32 *men only*]. We hope the Merchants [*the Adventurers*] will accept of it; and be incouraged to furnish us with things needful for further employment: which will also incourage us to put forth ourselves to the uttermost.

Now because I expect your coming unto us with

others of our friends; whose company we much desire: I [have] thought good to advertise you of a few things needful.

Be careful to have [on board your ship] a very good Bread-room, to put your biscuits in. Let your caske [*casks*] for beer and water be ironbound; for the first tyre [*the lowest tier of casks in the ship*], if not more. Let not your meat be dry salted. None can better do it than the sailors. Let your meal be so hard trodd[en] in your cask that you shall need an adze or hatchet to work it out with. Trust not too much on us for corn at this time: for, by reason of this last company that came [*the* 35 *persons in the* Fortune], depending wholly upon us, we shall have little enough till harvest. Be careful to come by [*be able to get at*] some of your meal, to spend [*consume*] by the way. It will much refresh you. Build your cabins as open as you can; and bring good store of clothes and bedding with you. Bring every man a musket, or fowling piece. Let your piece be long in the barrel; and fear not the weight of it, for most of our shooting is from stands [*props for the muskets*]. Bring juice of lemons; and take it fasting. It is of good use. For hot [*distilled*] waters, Anniseed Water is the best; but use it sparingly. If you bring anything for comfort in the country; butter, or sallet [*salad*] oil, or both, are very good. Our Indian corn, even the coarsest, maketh as pleasant meat as Rice: therefore spare that, unless to spend by the way. Bring paper and linseed oil, for your windows; with cotton yarn for your lamps. Let your shot be most[ly] for big fowls; and bring store [*plenty*] of powder and shot.

I forbear further to write, for the present; hoping to see you by the next return [of a ship here]. So I take

my leave; commending you to the LORD, for a safe conduct unto us:

Resting in him
Your loving friend,
E. W. [EDWARD WINSLOW.]

Plymouth, in New England,
this 11th of December
1621.

Reasons and Considerations touching the lawfulness [*rightfulness*] of removing out of England into the parts of America.

The Preamble.

ORASMUCH as many Exceptions are daily made against the going into, and inhabiting of, foreign desert places; to the hinderances of Plantations abroad and the increase of distractions at home: it is not amiss that some (which have been Ear witnesses of the Exceptions made; and are Agents, or Abettors, of such Removals and Plantations) do seek to give content to the World, in all things that they possibly can.

And although most of the opposites [*opponents*] are such as either dream of raising their fortunes here, to that than which there is nothing more unlike[ly]; or such as affecting their homeborn country so vehemently as that they had rather, with all their friends, beg, yea starve in it, than undergo a little difficulty in seeking abroad: yet are there some who (, out of doubt, in tenderness of conscience and fear to offend GOD, by running before they be called) are straitened; and do straiten [*hinder*] others from going into foreign Plantations.

For whose cause, especially; I have been drawn, out of my good affection to them, to publish some Reasons that might give them content and satisfaction; and also

stay and stop the willful and witty caviller [*captious objector*]. And herein I trust I shall not be blamed of any godly wise [man] though, through my slender judgement, I should miss the mark; and not strike the nail on the head: considering it is the first attempt that hath been made, that I know of, to defend those enterprises. Reason would therefore, that if any man, of deeper reach and better judgement, see further, or otherwise; that he [would] rather instruct me, than deride me.

Cautions. And, being studious for brevity, we must first consider, That whereas GOD, of old, did call and summon our fathers by predictions, dreams, visions, and certain illuminations, to go from their countries, places, and habitations, to reside and dwell here, or there; and to wander up and down from city to city, and land to land, according to his will and pleasure: now there is no such calling to be expected, for any matter whatsoever; neither must any so much as imagine that there will now be any such thing.

Gen. xii. 1, 2; and xxxv. 1. Matth. ii. 19. Psal. cv. 13.

GOD did once so train up his people: but now he doth not; but speaks in another manner. And so we must apply ourselves to GOD's present dealing; and not to his wonted dealing. And as the miracle of giving manna ceased, when the fruits of the land became plenty [*plenteous*]: so GOD, having such a plentiful storehouse of directions in his holy Word; there must not now any extraordinary revelations be expected. But now the ordinary examples and precepts of the Scriptures, reasonably and rightly understood and applied, must be the Voice and Word that must call us, press us, and direct us in every action.

Heb. i. 1, 2.

Josh. v. 12.

Neither is there any land or possession now, like unto the possession which the Jews had in Caanan; being legally holy, and appropriated unto a holy people, the Seed of ABRAHAM: in which they dwelt securely, and had their days prolonged. It being by an immediate Voice said, That he, the LORD, gave it them, as a land of rest after their weary travels; and a type of eternal rest in heaven. Gen. xvii. 8.

But now there is no land of that sanctimony [*sanctity*]; no land, so appropriated; none, typical: much less any that can be said to be given of GOD to any nation, as was Caanan; which they and their seed must dwell in, till GOD sendeth upon them Sword or Captivity. But now we are all, in all places, strangers and pilgrims, travellers and sojourners: most properly, having no dwelling but in this earthen tabernacle. Our dwelling is but a wandering; and our abiding, but as a fleeting [*a hastening away*]; and, in a word, our home is nowhere but in the heavens; in that house not made with hands, whose maker and builder is GOD; and to which all ascend, that love the Coming of our LORD JESUS. 2 Cor. v. 1-3.

So were the Jews; but yet their temporal blessings and inheritances were more large than ours.

Though then there may be reasons to persuade a man to live in this or that land; yet there cannot be the same reasons which the Jews had: but now as natural, civil, and religious bands tie men; so must they be bound; and as good reasons for things terrene and heavenly appear, so they must be led.

Objection. And so here falleth in our question, How a man, that is here born and bred, and hath lived some years [here], may remove himself into another country?

Answer. I answer, A man must not respect only to

live and do good to himself; but he should see where he can live to do most good to others: for, as one saith, "He whose living is but for himself; it is time he were dead."

Some men there are who, of necessity, must here live; as being tied to duties, either to Church, Common Wealth, household, kindred, &c. But others, and that many, who do no good in none of those [Callings], nor can do none; as being not able, or not in favour, or as wanting opportunity: and living as outcasts, nobodies, eyesores; eating but for themselves; teaching but themselves; and doing good to none, either in soul or body; and so pass over days, years, and months; yea, so live and so die.

1. What persons may hence remove.

Now such should lift up their eyes and see, Whether there be not some other place and country to which they may go, to do good: and have use towards others, of that knowledge, wisdom, humanity, reason, strength, skill, faculty, &c.; which GOD hath given them for the service of others, and his own glory?

2. Why they should remove.

But not to pass the bounds of modesty so far as to name any, though I confess I know many who sit here still, with their talent in a napkin, having notable endowments, both of body and mind; and might do great good if they were in some places; which here do none, nor can do none: and yet, through fleshly fear, niceness [*fastidiousness* or *daintiness*], straitness [*narrowness*] of heart, &c., sit still and look on; and will not hazard a dram of health, nor a day of pleasure, nor an hour of rest, to further the knowledge and salvation of the sons of ADAM in that New World; where a drop of the knowledge of CHRIST is most precious, which

Luke xix. 20.

Reason 1.

is here not set by. Now what shall we say to such a Profession of CHRIST, to which is joined no more denial of a man's self?

Objection. But some will say, What right have I to go [and] live in the heathen's country?

Answer. Letting pass the ancient discoveries, contracts, and agreements which our Englishmen have, long since, made in those parts; together with the acknowledgement of the Histories and Chronicles of other nations; who profess [*acknowledge*] the land of America, from Cape de Florida unto the Bay of Canada [*Gulf of St Lawrence*]—which is South and North, 300 leagues and upwards; and East and West, further than yet hath been discovered—is proper [*belongs*] to the King of England. Yet letting that pass, lest I be thought to meddle further than it concerns me, or further than I have discerning: I will mention such things as are within my reach, knowledge, sight, and practice, since I have travailed [*laboured*] in these affairs.

And first, Seeing we daily pray for the conversion of the heathens; we must consider, Whether there be not some ordinary means and course for us to take to convert them: or whether prayer for them, be only referred to GOD's extraordinary work from heaven? Now it seemeth unto me, that we ought also to endeavour and use the means to convert them: and the means cannot be used, unless we go to them, or they come to us. To us, they cannot come: our land is full. To them, we may go: their land is empty. Reason 2.

This then is a sufficient reason to prove our going thither to live, lawful [*morally right*]. Their land is spacious and void, and there are few: and [they] do but run over the grass, as do also Reason 3.

the foxes and wild beasts. They are not industrious: neither have art, science, skill, or faculty to use either the land, or the commodities of it; but all spoils, rots, and is marred, for want of manuring, gathering, ordering, &c. As the ancient Patriarchs therefore removed from straiter places into more roomthy, where the land lay idle and waste, and none used; though there dwelt inhabitants by them, as Gen. xiii. 6, 11, 12 and xxxiv. 21, and xli. 20: so is it lawful now to take a land, which none useth; and [to] make use of it.

Reason 4. This is to be considered as respecting New England, and the territories about the Plantation.

And as it is a common land or unused, and [an] undressed [*uncultivated*] country; so we have it, by common consent, composition, and agreement; which agreement is double:

First, the imperial Governor, MASSASOIT (whose circuits [*boundaries*], in likelihood, are larger than England and Scotland) hath acknowledged the King's Majesty of England to be his master and Commander; and that once in my hearing [*in November, or December* 1621]: yea, and in writing, under his hand, to Captain STANDISH, both he and many other Kings which are under him (as Pamet, Nauset, Cummaquid, Narrowhiggonset, Namaschet, &c.); with, divers others that dwell about the Bays of Patuxet [*Plymouth*] and Massachuset [*Boston Bay*].

Neither hath this been accomplished by threats and blows, or [the] shaking of sword and sound of trumpet. For as our faculty that way is small, and our strength less; so our warring with them is after another manner, namely, by friendly usage, love, peace, honest and just carriages [*behaviour*], good counsel, &c.: that so we and they may not only live in peace in that land, and they yield subjection to an

Psal. cx. 3; and xlviii. 3.

earthly Prince; but that, as voluntaries, they may be persuaded at length to embrace the Prince of Peace, CHRIST JESUS; and rest in peace with him for ever.

Secondly. This composition is also more particular and applicatory as touching ourselves there inhabiting. The Emperor, by a joint consent, hath promised and appointed us to live at peace, where we will, in all his dominions; taking what place we will, and as much land as we will; and bringing as many people as we will. And that for these two causes.

First. Because we are the servants of JAMES, King of England; whose the land, as he confesseth, is.

Secondly. Because he hath found us just, honest, kind, and peaceable; and so loves our company.

Yea, and that in these things there is no dissimulation on his part, nor fear of breach [*quarrel*] (except our security ingender in them some unthought-of treachery; or our uncivility [*rudeness*] provoke them to anger) is most plain in other Relations [*at pp.* 407-494]: which shew that the things they did, were more out of love than out of fear.

It being then, first, a vast and empty chaos; secondly, acknowledged the right of our Sovereign King; thirdly, by a peaceable composition in part possessed of divers of his loving subjects: I see not, who can doubt and call in question the lawfulness [*righteousness*] of inhabiting or dwelling there; but that it may be as lawful for such, as are not tied upon some special occasion here, to live there as well as here. Yea, and as the enterprise is weighty and difficult: so the honour is more worthy, to plant a rude wilderness, to enlarge the honour and fame of our dread Sovereign; but chiefly to display the efficacy and power of the Gospel, both in zealous

preaching, Professing, and wise walking under it, before the faces of these poor blind infidels.

As for such as object the tediousness of the voyage thither; the danger of pirates' robbery, [and] of the savages' treachery, &c.; these are but lions in the way: and it were well for such men, if they were in heaven. For who can shew them a place in this world, where iniquity shall not compass them at the heels? or where they shall have a day without grief? or a lease of life, for a moment? And who can tell but GOD, what dangers may lie at our doors, even in our native country? or what plots may be abroad [*hatching*]? or when GOD will cause our sun to go down at noonday? and, in the midst of our peace and security, lay upon us some lasting scourge for our so long neglect and contempt of his most glorious Gospel?

Prov. xxii. 13.

Psal. xlix. 5. Matth. vi. 34.

Amos. viii. 9.

Objection. But we have here great peace, plenty of the Gospel, and many sweet delights and variety of comforts.

Answer. True indeed, and far be it from us to deny and diminish the least of these mercies. But have we rendered unto GOD thankful obedience for this long peace, whilst other peoples have been at war [*The allusion here is to the Thirty Years War then raging in Germany*]? Have we not rather murmured, repined, and fallen at jars amongst ourselves; whilst our peace hath lasted with foreign Power[s]? Were there ever more suits in law, more envy, contempt, and reproach, than now a days? ABRAHAM and LOT departed asunder, when there fell a breach

2 Chron. xxxii. 25.

betwixt them; which was occasioned by the straitness of the land: and, surely, I am persuaded that howosever the frailities of men are principal [*the primary causes*] in all contentions, yet the straitness of the place is such, as each man is fain to pluck his means, as it were, out of his neighbour's throat. There is such pressing and oppressing, in town and country, about farms, trades, traffic, &c.; so as a man can hardly anywhere set up a trade, but he shall pull down two of his neighbours. Gen. xiii. 9, 10.

The towns abound with young tradesmen [*artizans*]; and the hospitals are full of the ancient [ones]. The country is replenished with new farmers; and the almhouses are filled with old labourers. Many there are who get their living with bearing burdens; but more are fain to burden the land with their whole bodies. Multitudes get their means of life by prating; and so do numbers more, by begging. Neither come these straits upon men always through intemperancy, ill husbandry, indiscretion, &c., as some think: but even the most wise sober and discreet men go often to the wall; when they have done their best. Wherein, as GOD's Providence swayeth all, so it is easy to see, That the straitness of the place, having in it so many strait [*narrow*] hearts, cannot but produce such effects more and more. So as every indifferent [*impartial*] minded man should be ready to say, with father ABRAHAM, "Take thou, the right hand; and I will take the left!" Let us not thus oppress, straiten, and afflict one another! but seeing there is a spacious land, the way to which is through the sea, we will end this difference in a day!

That I speak nothing about the bitter contention that hath been about Religion, by writing disputing and inveighing earnestly one against another: the heat of

which zeal, if it were turned against the rude barbarism of the heathens, it might do more good in a day than it hath done here in many years. Neither of the little love to the Gospel, and profit which is made by the Preachers in most places; which might easily drive the zealous to the heathens: who, no doubt, if they had but a drop of that knowledge, which here flyeth about the streets, would be filled with exceeding great joy and gladness, as that they would even pluck the Kingdom of Heaven by violence; and take it, as it were, by force.

The last let. The greatest let [*hindrance*] that is yet behind is, The sweet fellowship of friends, and the satiety of bodily delights.

But can there be two nearer friends almost, than ABRAHAM and LOT; or than PAUL and BARNABAS? And yet, upon as little occasions as we have here, they departed asunder; two of them being Patriarchs of the Church of old, the others, the Apostles of the Church which is new: and their covenants were such as, it seemeth, might bind as much as any covenant between men at this day; and yet, to avoid greater inconveniences, they departed asunder.

Neither must men take so much thought for the flesh as not to be pleased, except they can pamper their bodies with variety of dainties. Nature is content with little: and health is much endangered by mixtures upon the stomach. The delights of the palate do often inflame the vital parts; as the tongue setteth afire the whole body.

James iii. 6.

Secondly. Varieties here are not common to all; but many good men are glad to snap at a crust. The rent-taker lives on sweet morsels; but the rent-payer eats a dry crust often with watery eyes:

and it is nothing to say, what some one of a hundred hath; but what the bulk, body, and comminalty hath—which, I warrant you, is short enough.

And they also which now live so sweetly; hardly will their children attain to that priviledge, but some circumventor or other will outstrip them, and make them sit in the dust: to which men are brought in one Age [*lifetime*]; but cannot get out of it again, in seven generations.

To conclude. Without all partiality, the present consumption [*exhaustion*] which groweth upon us here (whilst the land groaneth under so many close-fisted and unmerciful men), being compared with the easiness, plainness, and plentifulness in living, in those remote parts; may quickly persuade any man to a liking of this course, and to practice a removal. Which being done by honest godly and industrious men; they shall be there right heartily welcome: but for others of dissolute and profane life, their rooms [*vacancy*, or *absence*] are better than their companies. For if here, where the Gospel hath been so long and plentifully taught, they are yet frequent in such vices as the heathen would shame to speak of: what will they be, when there is less restraint in word and deed?

My only suit to all men is, That, whether they live here or there, they would learn to use this world as [if] they used it not; keeping faith and a good conscience both with GOD and men: that when the Day of Account shall come, they may come forth as good and fruitful servants; and freely be received, and enter into the joy of their Master. R. C.

FINIS.

The Complaint of certain Adventurers and Inhabitants of the Plantation in New England

Sheweth

That a ship belonging to them, named the *Fortune*, of the burden of between 40 and 50 tons or thereabouts, being upon their way homeward, and near the English coast, some eight leagues off Use, called by the Frenchmen Ile d'Use,* was, the 19th of January last [1622], assailed and taken by a French Man of War, the Captain whereof was called Fontenau de Pennart *de Brittannie* [*Bretagne*]: and carried to the Isle of Use.

That Fontenau presented the ship, and company thereof, being 13 persons, as prisoners to Monsieur le Marquis de Cera, Governor of the Isle. Who although, upon examination and sight of their Commission, he found that they were neither pirates, nor assistants to Rochelle [*i.e. to the Huguenots there*], and acknowledged there was no breach [*war*] between England and France: yet said, He would make prize of them, to give content to his Captains and servitors.

That thereupon Monsieur de Cera kept Thomas Barton, Master of the ship, seven days, close prisoner in his Castle; and the rest of the company under guard:

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* Captain John Smith states that this was Ile d'Yeu, off the coast of Poitou.—*New England's Trials*, 2nd Ed., 1622, 4.

and commanded his soldiers to pillage them; who left them not so much as a kettle to boil their meat in, nor a can to drink in.

That Monsieur DE CERA took away of the goods of the Adventurers, in beaver skins and other commodities, to the value of £400, at the least.

That he took away of the Owners, a Newshett cable [*a new sheet-cable: i.e. the chain cable belonging to the sheet anchor*], an anchor, two murderers [*small cannon*] with their chambers, eight calivers [*hand-guns*] with bandileers [*shoulder-belts holding powder charges*], a flag, [an] ensign, powder, shot, ropes, lines, and other instruments, to the value of £50.

That he suffered his soldiers to pillage the company, that they took away all their apparel; not leaving some of them a hat to their heads, nor a shoe to their feet, to the damage of £50 at least.

That he sent for all their letters; [and] opened and kept what he pleased: especially, though he was much intreated to the contrary, a letter written by [WILLIAM BRADFORD,] the Governor of our Colony in New England, containing a general Relation of all matters there.*

That when any ship, English or Dutch, came into the

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* Posterity will always owe a grudge to this noble thief, for his robbery of Governor BRADFORD's despatch: unless it should happily be recovered from among the existing French archives; and then posterity would bless him for ever. Doubtless, the Marquis kept it, in order to send it up to the Court at Paris.

Governor WINSLOW tells us, at page 582, that the narrative we have printed at pp. 407-494, "came to the press against my will and knowledge." It is therefore a makeshift private narrative, sent to press by CUSHMAN, MORTON, SHIRLEY and others in the absence of the official one stolen. For, naturally enough, the Adventurers in London would feel constrained to print *some* account of the Colony; in order to further its welfare, and also to satisfy public opinion.—E. A.

road; he caused our company to be stowed under the hatches. And—having detained them thirteen days [*? from 20th January to 1st February* 1622. *The* Fortune *arrived in London on the 14th February*]; and fed them with lights, livers, and entrails: because he suffered his soldiers to eat all their good victuals—at length, he sent them aboard a little lean flesh, a hogshead of small [*poor*] wine, some little bread and vinegar, to victual them home. But withal prepounded to them, to testify, under their hands, That he had taken from them but two * hogsheads of fox skins †: else, he said, they should not have liberty.

Howbeit, by the kindness of a young Gentleman, pitying their distress — who only amongst the French could speak English—they were discharged; giving, under their hands, That the Marquis of CERA had taken from them two hogsheads of beaver skins, and some other small matters.

Endorsed

A Complaint of divers Adventurers and Inhabitants of New England.

S. P. *Colonial*, Vol. V., No 112.

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* Captain JOHN SMITH states, "Within a month, they [in the *Fortune*] returned here [*from New Plymouth*] for England, laded with clapboard, wainscot [*oakwood for panelling*] and walnut [wood], with about three hogsheads of beaver skins, and some saxefras [*sassafras*], the 13 December [1621]." *New England's Trials*, 2nd Ed., 1622, 4.

If so, CUSHMAN must, in some way or other, have outwitted the noble pirate; and saved one of the hogsheads of beaver skins from his clutches. BRADFORD, however, says, "two hogsheads of beaver and other skins." MS. 153.

† The Marquis had probably never seen a beaver skin in his life; and gave the skins the only name he knew of.—E. A.

Good News from
New England:

or

a true Relation of things very remarkable at the Plantation of Plymouth in New England.

Shewing the wonderful Providence and goodness of GOD, in their preservation and continuance; being delivered from many apparent deaths and dangers.

Together with
a Relation of such religious and civil laws and customs as are in practice amongst the Indians adjoining to them, at this day.

As also
what commodities are there to be raised for the maintenance of that and other Plantations in the said country.

Written by E. W.; who hath borne a part in the forenamed troubles, and there lived since their first arrival.

LONDON.

Printed by I. D. [JOHN DAWSON] for WILLIAM BLADEN and JOHN BELLAMIE: and are to be sold at their shops; at the *Bible* in Paul's Churchyard, and at the *Three Golden Lions* in Cornhill, near the Royal Exchange. 1624.

To the Reader.

GOOD Reader. When I first penned this discourse, I intended it chiefly for the satisfaction of my private friends: but, since that time, have been persuaded to publish the same. And the rather, because of a disorderly Colony [*of* THOMAS WESTON'S *men*] that are dispersed, and most of them returned [to England]; to the great prejudice and damage of him that set them forth. Who, as they were a stain to Old England that bred them, in respect of their lives and manners amongst the Indians: so, it is to be feared, [they] will be no less to New England, in their vile and clamorous reports; because she would not foster them in their desired idle courses.

I would not be understood to think there were no well-deserving persons amongst them. For, of mine own knowledge, it was a grief to some, that they were so yoked: whose deserts as they were then suitable to their honest protestations; so, I desire, [they] still may be, in respect of their just and true Relations.

Peradventure thou wilt rather marvel that I deal so plainly; than any way doubt of the truth of this, my Relation. Yea, it may be, tax me therewith: as seeming rather to discourage men, than [in] any way to further so noble an action.

If any honest mind be discouraged; I am sorry. Sure I am, I have given no just cause: and am so far from being discouraged myself, as I purpose to return

forthwith. And for other light and vain persons; if they stumble hereat, I have my desire: accounting it better for them and us, that they keep where they are; as being unfit and unable to perform so great a task.

Some faults have escaped; because I could not attend on the press: which I pray thee correct as thou findest; and I shall account it as a favour unto me.

Thine,

E. W.

To all well-willers and furtherers of Plantations in New England; especially to such as ever have [assisted], or desire to assist, the people of Plymouth in their just proceedings; grace and peace be multiplied!

RIGHT Honourable and Worshipful Gentleman; or whatsoever. Since it hath pleased GOD to stir you up to be Instruments of his glory, in so honourable an enterprise as the inlarging of His Majesty's dominions, by planting his loyal subjects in so healthful and hopeful a country as New England is: where, the Church of GOD being seated in sincerity, there is no less hope of convincing the heathen of their evil ways, and converting them to the true knowledge and worship of the living GOD, and so consequently, the salvation of their souls by the merits of Jesus Christ than elsewhere; though it be much talked on, and lightly or lamely prosecuted.

I therefore think it but my duty, to offer the View of our Proceedings to your worthy considerations: having, to that end, composed them together thus briefly, as you see. Wherein, to your great encouragement, you may behold the good Providence of GOD working with you, in our preservation from so many dangerous plots and treacheries as have been intended against us: as also in giving his blessing so powerfully upon the weak means we had; inabling us with health and ability, beyond expectation, in our greatest scarcities; and

possessing the hearts of the savages with astonishment and fear of us. Whereas if GOD had let them loose, they might easily have swallowed us up; [scarce[ly] being a handful in comparison of those forces they might have gathered together against us: which now, by GOD's blessing, will be more hard and difficult, in regard our number of men is increased; our town, better fortified; and our store, better victualled. Blessed therefore be his name! that hath done so great things for us; and hath wrought so great a change amongst us.

Accept, I pray you, my weak endeavours. Pardon my unskilfullness; and bear with my plainness in the things I have handled. Be not discouraged by our former necessities; but rather incouraged with us: hoping that as GOD hath wrought with us in our beginning of this worthy work, undertaken in his name and fear; so he will, by us, accomplish the same to his glory and our comfort, if we neglect not the means.

I confess, it hath not been much less chargeable to some of you [*the Adventurers*], than hard and difficult to us, that have endured the brunt of the battle: and yet small profits returned. Only, by GOD's mercy, we are safely seated, housed, and fortified: by which means, a great step is made unto gain; and a more direct course taken for the same, than if, at first, we had rashly and covetously fallen upon it.

Indeed, three things are the overthrow and bane, as I may term it, of Plantations.

1. The vain expection of present [*instant*] profit: which, too [*far*] too commonly, taketh a principal seat in the heart and affections;

though GOD's glory &c. is preferred before it in the mouth, with protestation.

2. Ambition in their Governors and Commanders, seeking only to make themselves, great; and slaves, of all that under them: to maintain a transitory base honour in themselves; which GOD oft punisheth with contempt.
3. The carelessness of those that send over supplies [*reinforcements*] of men unto them; not caring how they be qualified: so that oft times they are rather the Image of Men endued with bestial, yea, diabolical affections; than the Image of GOD endued with reason, understanding, and holiness.

I praise GOD, I speak not these things experimentally, by way of complaint of our own condition: but have great cause, on the contrary part, to be thankful to GOD, for his mercies towards us.

But rather, if there be any too desirous of gain, to intreat them to moderate their affections; and [to] consider that no man expecteth fruit before the tree be grown. Advising all men that, as they tender their own welfare, so to make choice of such to manage and govern their affairs as are approved, not to be seekers of themselves, but [of] the common good of all for whom they are imployed. And beseeching such as have the care of transporting men for the supply and furnishing of Plantations, to be truly careful in sending such as may further, and not hinder, so good an action.

There is no godly honest man but will be helpful in this kind; and adorn his Profession with an upright life and conversation: which Doctrine of Manners ought first to be preached, by giving a good example to the

poor savage heathens, amongst whom they live. On the contrary part, what great offence hath been given by many profane men; who, being but seeming Christians, have made CHRIST and Christianity stink in the nostrils of the poor infidels; and so laid a stumbling block before them: but "woe be to them, by whom such offences come!"

These things, I offer to your Christian considerations; beseeching you to make a good construction of my simple meaning, and [to] take in good part this ensuing Relation: dedicating myself, and it, evermore unto your service; beseeching GOD to crown our Christian and faithful endeavours, with his blessings temporal and eternal.

Yours, in this service,
Ever to be commanded,
E. W. [EDWARD WINSLOW.]

Good News from New England.

THE good ship, called the *Fortune* (which, in the month of November 1621, blessed be GOD! brought us a new Supply [*reinforcement*] of 35 persons) was not long departed [from] our coast [on 13th December 1621], ere the great people of Nanohigganset [*Narragansett*], which are reported to be many thousands strong, began to breathe forth many threats against us; notwithstanding their desired and obtained peace with us, in the foregoing summer: insomuch as the common talk of our neighbour[ing] Indians, on all sides, was of the preparation they made to come against us.

In reason, a man would think they should have now more cause to fear us that before our Supply came. But, though none of them were present; yet understanding by others, That they [in the *Fortune*] neither brought arms, nor other provisions with them; but wholly relied on us: it occasioned them to slight and brave us with so many threats as they did.

At length, came one of them to us, who was sent by CANAUACUS [*i.e.* CANONICUS] their chief Sachem or King; accompanied with one TOKAMAHAMON, a friendly Indian.

This messenger inquired for TISQUANTUM our interpreter; who not being at home, [he] seemed rather

to be glad than sorry: and leaving for him, a bundle of new arrows lapped in a rattlesnake's skin, desired to depart with all speed. But our Governors (not knowing what to make of this strange carriage [*behaviour*]; and comparing it with what we had formerly heard) committed him to the custody of Captain STANDISH: hoping now to know some certainty of that we so often heard; either by his own relation to us, or to TISQUANTUM at his return; desiring myself, having special familiarity with the other forenamed Indian, to see if I could learn anything from him. Whose [*i.e. TOKAMAHAMON's*] answer was sparingly to this effect, That he could not certainly tell; but [he] thought they were enemies to us.

That night, Captain STANDISH gave me and another, charge of him; and gave us order to use him kindly, and that he should not want anything he desired: and to take all occasions to talk, and inquire of the reasons of those reports we heard; and withal to signify that, upon his true relation, he should be sure of his own freedom.

At first, fear so possessed him that he could scarce[ly] say anything: but, in the end, [he] became more familiar, and told us, That the messenger, which his master sent, in summer [of 1621], to treat of peace; at his return, persuaded him rather to war: and to the end he might provoke him thereunto, as appeared to him by our reports, [he = *the former messenger*] detained many of the things [that] were sent him [*i.e. CANONICUS*] by our Governor [WILLIAM BRADFORD]; scorning the meanness of them, both in respect of what [he] himself had formerly sent [to Plymouth], and also of the greatness of his own person. So that he [*the Indian with whom WINSLOW was now talking*] much blamed

the former messenger, saying, That, upon the knowledge of this, his false carriage; it would cost him his life. But [he] assured us that, upon his relation of our speech then with him, to his master, he would be friends with us.

Of this, we informed the Governor [WILLIAM BRADFORD] and his Assistant [ISAAC ALLERTON], and Captain [MILES] STANDISH: who, after consultation, considered him howsoever but in the state of a messenger; and, it being as well against the Law of Arms amongst them, as us in Europe, to lay violent hands on any such, set him at liberty. The Governor giving him order, to certify his master, That he had heard of his large and many threatenings, at which he was much offended: daring him, in those respects, to the utmost, if he would not be reconciled to live peaceably, as others his neighbours; manifesting withal, as ever, his desire of peace, but his fearless resolution, if he could not so live amongst them.

After which, he caused meat to be offered him: but he refused to eat, making all speed to return, and giving many thanks for his liberty. But requesting the other Indian again to return: the weather being violent, he [*i.e.* *TOKAMAHAMON*] used many words to persuade him to stay longer; but could not. Whereupon he [*i.e.* *TOKAMAHAMON*] left him; and said, He was with his friends; and would not take a journey in such extremity [of weather].

After this, when TISQUANTUM returned; and the arrows were delivered, and the manner of the messenger's carriage related: he signified to the Governor, That to send the rattlesnake's skin, in that manner, imported enmity; and that it was no better than a challenge.

Hereupon, after some deliberation, the Governor

stuffed the skin with powder and shot; and sent it back: returning no less defiance to CONANACUS [*CANONICUS*]; assuring him, If he had [had] shipping now present, thereby to send his men to Nanohigganset [*Narragansett*, now Rhode Island], the place of his abode; they should not need to come so far by land to us: yet withal shewing that they should never come unwelcome or unlooked for.

This message was sent by an Indian; and delivered in such sort, as it was no small terror to this savage King; insomuch as he would not once touch the powder and shot, or suffer it to stay in his house or country: whereupon, the messenger refusing it, another took it up; and [it] having been posted from place to place a long time, at length [it] came whole [*unopened*] back again [to Plymouth].

In the mean time, knowing our own weakness, notwithstanding our high words and lofty looks towards them; and still lying open to all casualty, having, as yet, under GOD, no other defence than our arms: we thought it most needful to impale our town; which, with all expedition, we accomplished in the month of February and some few days [in March]. Taking in the top of the hill [*now the Burial Hill*] under which our town is seated: making four bulwarks or jetties [*bastions or projections*] without the ordinary circuit of the pale [*palisade*], from whence we could defend the whole town in three whereof, are gates; and [in] the fourth, [there will be one] in time to be.

This being done, Captain STANDISH divided our strength [*forces*] into four Squadrons or Companies; appointing whom he thought most fit, to have command of each: and, at a General Muster or Training, appointed

each his place; gave each, his Company; giving them charge, upon every alarm, to resort to their leaders to their appointed place; and in his absence, to be commanded and directed by them. That done, according to his order, each drew his Company to his appointed place for defence; and there together [they] discharged their muskets. After which, they brought their new Commanders to their houses; where again they graced them with their shot, and so departed.

Fearing also lest the enemy, at any time, should take any advantage by firing our houses; Captain STANDISH appointed a certain Company that (whensoever they saw [fire], or heard "Fire!" to be cried in the town) should only betake themselves to their arms; and should inclose the house, or place, so indangered; and stand aloof [*at a distance*] on their guard, with their backs towards the fire: to prevent treachery, if any were in that kind intended. If the fire were in any of the houses [of the district] of this guard; they were then freed from it [*i.e. from being thus on guard*]; but not otherwise, without special command.

Long before this time, we promised the people of Massachuset [*i.e. Boston Bay*], in the beginning of March [1622] to come unto them, and trade for their furs: which [time] being then come, we began to make preparation for that voyage.

In the mean time, an Indian, called HOBBAMOCK, who still lived in the town [of Plymouth, *see page* 383], told us, That he feared the Massachusets, or Massachuseucks (for so they called the people of that place), were joined in confederacy with the Nanohigganeucks or people of Nanohigganset [*Narragansetts*]; and that they therefore would take this opportunity to

cut off Captain STANDISH and his company abroad [*while away*]: but howsoever, in the mean time, it was to be feared that the Nanohigganeuks would assault the town at home; giving many reasons for his jealousy. As also that TISQUANTUM was in the confederacy: who, we should find, would use many persuasions to draw us from our shallops to the Indians' houses [*wigwams*], for their better advantage.

To confirm this his jealousy, he told us of many secret passages that passed between him and others, having their meetings ordinarily abroad in the woods: but if at home [at Plymouth] howsoever, he was excluded from their secrecy; saying, It was the manner of the Indians, when they meant plainly, to deal openly.

But in this his practice [*plot*], there was no shew of honesty.

Hereupon the Governor, together with his Assistant [ISAAC ALLERTON] and Captain STANDISH, called together such as, by them, were thought most meet for advice in so weighty a business; who, after consideration hereof, came to his resolution:

That as hitherto, upon all occasions between them and us, we had ever manifested undaunted courage and resolution; so it would not now stand with our safety to mew [*shut*] up ourselves in our new-enclosed town: partly because our Store was almost empty, and therefore [we] must seek out for our daily food, without which we could not long subsist; but especially for that thereby they would see us dismayed, and be encouraged to prosecute their malicious purposes with more eagerness than ever they intended. Whereas, on the contrary, by the blessing of GOD, our fearless carriage might be a means to discourage and weaken their proceedings.

And therefore, [it was] thought best to proceed in

our Trading Voyage, making this use of that we heard —to go better provided, and use the more carefulness both at home and abroad: leaving the event to the disposing of the Almighty. Whose Providence, as it had hitherto been over us for good; so we had now no cause, save our sins, to despair of his mercy in our preservation and continuance: where we desired rather to be Instruments of good to the heathens about us, than to give them the least measure of just offence.

All things being now in readiness, the forenamed Captain, with ten men, accompanied with TISQUANTUM and HOBBAMOCK, set forwards for the Massachusets [*i.e. Boston Bay, 44 miles away*].

But we* had no sooner turned the point of the harbour, Gurnet's Nose, (where, being becalmed, we let fall our grapnel; [in order] to set things to rights, and prepare to row); but there came an Indian of TISQUANTUM's family, running to certain of our people that were from home [*in the fields, distant from Plymouth*], with all eagerness, having his face wounded, and the blood still fresh on the same, calling to them to repair home; oft looking behind him, as if some others had him in chase: saying, That at Namaschet [*Middleborough*], a town some fifteen miles from us, there were many of the Nanohiggansets [*Narragansetts*], MASSASSOWAT our supposed friend, and CONBATANT [*or* CORBITANT], our feared enemy, with many others; with a resolution to take advantage, on the present opportunity, to assault the town, in the Captain's absence. Affirming that he

* WINSLOW was therefore one of the eleven Englishmen in the shallop. —E. A.

received the wound in his face, for speaking in our behalf, and by slight [*craft*] escaped; looking oft backward, as if he suspected them to be at hand.

This he affirmed again to the Governor: whereupon he gave command that three pieces of ordnance should be made ready and discharged; to the end that, if we were not out of hearing, we might return thereat.

Which we no sooner heard; but we repaired homeward with all convenient speed: arming ourselves, and making all in [a] readiness to fight. When we entered the harbour, we saw the town likewise on their guard: whither we hasted, with all convenient speed.

The news being made known unto us; HOBBAMOCK said flatly, That it was false: assuring us of MASSASSOWAT's faithfulness. Howsoever he presumed [*felt certain*], he would never have undertaken any such act without his privity; himself being a *Pinese*, that is, one of his chiefest champions or men of valour: it being the manner amongst them, not to undertake such enterprises without the advice and furtherance of men of that rank.

To this, the Governor answered, He should be sorry that any just and necessary occasions of war should arise between him and any [of] the savages; but especially MASSASSOWAT: not that he feared him more than the rest; but because his love more exceeded towards him than any.

Whereunto HABBAMOCK replied, There was no cause wherefore he should distrust him; and therefore [the Governor] should do well to continue his affections.

But to the end things might be made more manifest; the Governor caused HOBBAMOCK to send his wife, with all privacy, to Puckanokick [*i.e. to Sowams in Pokanoket*], the chief place of MASSASSOWAT's residence, pretending

other occasions: there to inform herself, and so us, of the right state of things.

When she came thither, and saw all things quiet; and that no such matter was, or had been, intended, [she] told MASSASSOWAT what had happened at Plymouth, by them called Patuxet. Which, when he understood, he was much offended at the carriage [*behaviour*] of TISQUANTUM: returning many thanks to the Governor for his good thoughts of him; and assuring him that, according to their first Articles of Peace, he would send word, and give warning, when any such business was towards [*approaching*].

Thus, by degrees, we began to discover TISQUANTUM; whose ends were only to make himself great in the eyes of his countrymen, by means of his nearness and favour with us: not caring who fell, so he stood.

In the general, his course was to persuade them, he could lead us to peace or war, at his pleasure. And would oft threaten the Indians, sending them word, in a private manner, we were intended shortly to kill them; that thereby he might get gifts to himself, to work their peace: insomuch as they had him in greater esteem than many of their Sachems. Yea, they [*the Sachems*] themselves sought to him: who promised them peace in respect to us, yea, and protection too, so as they would resort to him. So that whereas divers were wont to rely on MASSASSOWAT for protection, and resort to his abode: now they began to leave him, and seek after TISQUANTUM.

Now though he could not make good these his large promises; especially because of the continued peace between MASSASSOWAT and us: he therefore raised this false alarm, hoping, whilst things were hot in the heat of blood, to provoke us to march into his country against him; whereby he hoped to kindle such

a flame as would not easily be quenched. And hoping, if that block were once removed, there were no other between him and honour; which he loved as his life, and preferred before his peace.

For these, and the like abuses, the Governor sharply reproved him: yet was he so necessary and profitable an Instrument as, at that time, we could not miss him. But, when we understood his dealings, we certified all the Indians, of our ignorance and innocency therein: assuring them, [that] till they began [to fight] with us, they should have no cause to fear; and if any hereafter should raise any such reports, they should punish them as liars, and seekers of their and our disturbance. Which gave the Indians good satisfaction on all sides.

After this, we proceeded in our voyage to the Massachusets; where we had good store of trade: and, blessed be GOD! returned in safety; though driven from before our town, in great danger and extremity of weather.

At our return, we found MASSASSOWAT at the Plantation; who made his seeming[ly] just apology for all former matters of accusation: being much offended and inraged against TISQUANTUM; whom the Governor pacified as much as he could for the present.

But, not long after his departure, he sent a messenger to the Governor, intreating him to give way to the death of TISQUANTUM; who had so much abused him.

But the Governor answered, Although he had deserved to die, both in respect of him and us; yet, for our sakes, he desired he would spare him: and the rather, because without him, he knew not well how to understand himself, or any other [of] the Indians.

With this answer, the messenger returned; but came again, not long after, accompanied with divers others; demanding him, from [*on behalf of*] MASSASSOWAT their master, as being one of his subjects, whom by our first Articles of Peace [*see pp.* 457-458] we could not retain: yet because he would not willingly do it, without the Governor's approbation, [he] offered him many beavers' skins for his consent thereto; saying, That, according to their manner, their Sachem had sent his own knife, and them therewith, to cut off his head and hands, and bring them to him.

To which the Governor answered, It was not the manner of the English to sell men's lives at a price; but when they had deserved justly to die, to give them their reward: and therefore refused their beavers' [skins] as a gift. But sent for TISQUANTUM; who though he knew their intent, yet offered not to fly: but came and accused HOBBAMOCK as the author and worker of his overthrow; yielding himself to the Governor, to be sent or not, according as he thought meet.

But, at the instant, when our Governor was ready to deliver him into the hands of his executioners, a boat was seen at sea to cross before our town, and fall behind a headland not far off. Whereupon, having heard many rumours of the French, and not knowing whether there were any combination between the savages and them; the Governor told the Indians, He would first know what boat that was, ere he would deliver him into their custody. But, being mad with rage, and impatient at delay, they departed in [a] great heat.

Here let me not omit one notable, though wicked, practice [*deceit*] of this TISQUANTUM; who (to the end he might possess his country men with the greater fear of us; and so consequently of himself) told them, We

had the plague buried in our Storehouse: which, at our pleasure, we could send forth to what place or people we would; and destroy them therewith, though we stirred not from home.

Being, upon the forenamed brabbles [*wrangles*], sent for by the Governor, to this place where HABBAMOCK was, and some other of us; the ground being broke[n] in the midst of the house (whereunder certain barrels of powder were buried; though unknown to him) HOBBAMOCK asked him, What it meant?

To whom, he readily answered, That was the place, wherein the plague was buried; whereof he formerly told him and others.

After this, HOBBAMOCK asked one of our people, Whether such a thing were? and Whether we had such command of it?

Who answered, No. But the God of the English had it in store: and could send it at his pleasure; to the destruction of his and our enemies.

This was, as I take it, about the end of May 1622.

At which time, our store of victuals was wholly spent: having lived, long before, with a bare and short allowance.

The reason was that [the] Supply of men before mentioned [*the* 35 *persons who came in the* Fortune], which came so unprovided; not landing so much as a barrel of bread or meal for their whole company: but contrariwise received from us, for their ship's store homeward. Neither were the setters forth thereof altogether to be blamed therein: but rather certain amongst ourselves, who were too prodigal in their writing and reporting [*by the* Mayflower] of that plenty we enjoyed.

But that I may return. This boat proved to be a shallop, that belonged to a fishing ship, called the *Sparrow*, set forth by Master THOMAS WESTON, late Merchant and citizen of London: which brought six or seven passengers, at his charge, that should before have been landed at the Plantation; who also brought no more provision[s] for the present, than served the boat's gang [*crew*] for their return to the ship. Which made her voyage [*i.e. made her profit by fishing*] at a place called Damarin's Cove near Munhiggen [*Damariscove Islands, near Monhegan, off the coast of Maine*], some forty leagues [=120 *miles*] from us north-eastward. About which place, there fished above thirty Sail of ships.

And whither [I] myself was imployed by our Governor, with orders to take up such victuals as the ships could spare. Where I found kind entertainment and good respect; with a willingness to supply our wants. But, being not able to spare that quantity I required (by reason of the necessity of some among themselves; whom they supplied before my coming), [they] would not take any Bills [of Exchange] for the same: but did what they could freely, wishing their store had been such as they might in greater measure have expressed their own love, and supplied our necessities, for which they sorrowed; provoking one another [to free gifts for the Colony] to the utmost of their abilities. Which, although it were not much, amongst so many people as were at the Plantation; yet through the provident and discreet care of the Governors, [it] recovered and preserved strength till our own crop on the ground was ready.

Having dispatched there; I returned home with all speed convenient: where I found the state of the

Colony much weaker than when I left it. For till now, we were never without some bread: the want whereof, much abated the strength and flesh of some; and swelled others.

But here it may be said, If the country abound with fish and fowl in such measure as is reported; how could men undergo such measure of hardness [*hardship*], except through their own negligence?

I answer, Everything must be expected in its proper season. "No man," as one saith, "will go into an orchard in the winter, to gather cherries:" so he that looks for fowl there in the summer, will be deceived in his expectation. The time they continue in plenty with us, is from the beginning of October to the end of March: but these extremities befel us in May and June. I confess that as the fowl decrease, so fish increase; and indeed their exceeding abundance was a great cause of increasing our wants. For though our bay and creeks were full of bass and other fish; yet for want of fit and strong saynes [*seines—an encircling net with floats at its top*] and other netting, they for the most part brake through and carried all away before them; and though the sea were full of cod; yet we had neither tackling nor harseis [*hawsers*] for our shallops. And indeed had we not been in a place where divers sorts of shell fish are, that may be taken with the hand, we must have perished; unless GOD had raised some unknown or extraordinary means for our preservation.

In the time of these straits, indeed before my going to Munhiggen [*Monhegan*]; the Indians began again to cast forth many insulting speeches; glorying in our weakness, and giving out how easy it would be

ere long to cut us off. Now also MASSASSOWAT seemed to frown on us; and neither came, or sent, to us, as formerly.

These things occasioned further thoughts of fortification. And whereas we have a hill, called The Mount [*Afterwards called Fort Hill, and now Burial Hill*], inclosed within our pale [*palisade*], under which our town is seated; we resolved to erect a Fort thereon; from whence a few might easily secure the town from any assault the Indians can make; whilst the rest might be imployed [elsewhere], as occasion served. This work was begun with great eagerness, and with the approbation of all men: hoping that, this being once finished, and a continual guard there kept, it would utterly discourage the savages from having any hopes or thoughts of rising against us: And though it took the greatest part of our strength from dressing our corn [in May and June 1622]: yet, life being continued, we hoped GOD would raise some means instead thereof, for our further preservation.

In the end of June, or beginning of July [1622], came into our harbour [at Plymouth], two ships of Master [THOMAS] WESTON'S aforesaid; the one called the *Charity*, and the other the *Swan*: having in them some fifty, or sixty, men, sent over at his own charge to plant for him. These we received into our town; affording them whatsoever courtesy our mean condition could afford. There the *Charity*, being the bigger ship, left them; having many passengers, which she was to land in Virginia.

In the mean time, the body of them refreshed themselves at Plymouth; whilst some, [who were] most fit, sought out a place for them. The little store of corn

[*growing maize*] we had, was exceedingly wasted by the unjust and dishonest walking of these strangers; who though they would sometimes seem to help us in our labour about our corn; yet spared not, day and night, to steal the same—it being then eatable and pleasant to [the] taste; though green and unprofitable. And though they received much kindness [from us; yet] set light both by it and us; not sparing to requite the love we shewed them, with secret backbitings, revilings, &c.: the Chief of them being forestalled [*prepossessed by* THOMAS WESTON] and made against us, before they came; as afterwards appeared.

Nevertheless, for their Master's sake, who formerly had deserved well from us, we continued to do them whatsoever good, or furtherance, we could: attributing these things to the want of conscience and discretion; expecting each day when GOD, in his Providence, would disburden us of them; sorrowing that their Overseers were not of more ability and fitness for their places; and much fearing what would be the issue of such raw and unconscionable [*ill-considered and unreasonable*] beginnings.

At length, their coasters [*surveyors*] returned; having found, in their judgement, a place fit for [a] Plantation, within the Bay of the Massachusets [*i.e. Boston Bay*], at a place called by the Indians Wichaguscusset [*Wessagusset*, now called *Weymouth*]. To which place, the body of them went, with all convenient speed; leaving still with us, such as were sick and lame, by the Governor's permission, though on their parts undeserved: whom our Surgeon [SAMUEL FULLER], by the help of GOD, recovered gratis for them; and they fetched home, as occasion served.

They had not been long from us, ere the Indians filled our ears with clamours against them; for stealing their corn, and other abuses conceived by them. At which we grieved the more; because the same men [*the Boston Bay Indians*], in mine own hearing, had been earnest in persuading Captain STANDISH, before their coming [*i.e. WESTON's men*], to solicit our Governor, to send some of his men, to plant by them: alledging many reasons, how it might be commodious for us.

But we knew no means to redress those abuses; save reproof, and advising them to better walking, as occasion served.

In the end of August [1622], came other two ships into our harbour [at Plymouth]: the one, as I take it, was called the *Discovery*, Captain [THOMAS] JONES having the command thereof; the other was that ship of Master WESTON's, called the *Sparrow*, which had now made her voyage of fish [*had a full cargo of fish*], and was consorted with the other, being both bound for Virginia. [*This is a mistake. The* Discovery *was returning from Virginia to England. See pp.* 392-394.]

Of Captain JONES, we furnished ourselves of such provisions [for trading, *i.e. beads &c.*] as we most needed, and he could best spare: who as he used us kindly; so [he] made us pay largely for the things we had. And had not the Almighty, in his all-ordering Providence, directed him to us; it would have gone worse with us than ever it had been, or after was. For as we had now but small store of corn [*maize*] for the year following; so, for want of Supply [*reinforcement*], we were worn out [*exhausted*] of all manner of trucking stuff [*commodities for barter*], not having [therefore] any means left to help ourselves by trade: but, through

GOD's good mercy towards us, he had wherewith; and did supply our wants on that kind competently.

In the end of September, or beginning of October [1622], Master WESTON's bigger ship, called the *Charity*, returned for England: and left their Colony [at Wessagusset] sufficiently victualled; as some of most credit amongst them reported. The lesser, called the *Swan*, remained with his Colony, for their further help.

At which time, they desired to join in partnership with us, to trade for corn. To which our Governor [WILLIAM BRADFORD] and his Assistant [ISAAC ALLERTON] agreed, upon such equal conditions as were drawn [up] and confirmed between them and us.

The chief places aimed at, were to the southward of Cape Cod: and the more, because TISQUANTUM (whose peace, before this time, was wrought with MASSASSOWAT) undertook to discover unto us that supposed, and still hoped for, passage within the shoals [*the Pollock Rip, &c.*].

Both Colonies being thus agreed, and their companies fitted and joined together; we resolved to set forward: but were oft crossed in our purposes.

As first, Master RICHARD GREENE (brother in law to Master WESTON; who from him had a charge in the oversight and government of his Colony) died suddenly at our Plantation: to whom we gave burial befitting his place, in the best manner we could. Afterward, having further order to proceed by letter from [JOHN SANDERS] their other Governor at the Massachusets: twice Captain STANDISH set forth with them; but [they] were driven in again by cross and violent winds; himself, the second time, being sick of a violent fever.

By reason whereof (our own wants being like[ly]

to be now greater than formerly: partly because we were enforced to neglect our corn, and spend much time in fortification; but especially because such havock was made of that little we had, through the unjust and dishonest carriage [*behaviour*] of those people before mentioned, at our first entertainment of them); our Governor, in his own person, supplied the Captain's place; and, in the month of November [1622], again set forth, having TISQUANTUM for his interpreter and pilot: who affirmed he had twice passed within the shoals of Cape Cod, both with [the] English and [the] French.

Nevertheless, they went so far with him, as the Master of the ship [the *Swan*] saw no hope of passage; but being, as he thought, in danger, bare up; and, according to TISQUANTUM's directions, made for a harbour not far from them, at a place called Manamoycke [*Chatham*]. Which they found; and sounding it with their shallop, found the channel, though but narrow and crooked: where, at length, they harboured the ship. Here they perceived that the tide set in and out, with more violence [than] at some other place[s] more southerly: which they had not seen, nor could discover, by reason of the violence of the season, all the time of their abode there. Some judged the entrance thereof might be beyond the shoals: but there is no certainty thereof as yet known.

That night, the Governor, accompanied with others, [and] having TISQUANTUM for his interpreter, went ashore. At first, the inhabitants played least in sight [*hardly appeared*], because none of our people had ever been there before: but understanding the ends of their [*i.e. our*] coming; at length, came to them: welcoming our Governor according to their savage manner; refreshing

them very well with store of venison and other victuals, which they brought them in great abundance; promising to trade with them, with a seeming gladness of the occasion. Yet their joy was mixed with much jealousy, as appeared by their after practices. For, at first, they were loath their dwellings should be known; but when they saw our Governor's resolution to stay on shore all night; they brought him to their houses: having first conveyed all their stuff to a remote place, not far from the same; which one of our men, walking forth, occasionally [*accidently*], espied; whereupon, on the sudden, neither it nor them could be found. And so, many times, upon conceived occasions; they would be all gone, bag and baggage.

But being afterwards, by TISQANTUM's means, better persuaded; they left their jealousy, and traded with them. Where they got eight hogsheads of corn and beans; though the people were but few. This gave our Governor and the company good encouragement.

TISQUANTUM was still confident in the passage; and the inhabitants affirmed, They had seen ships of good burden pass within the shoals aforesaid. But here, though they had determined to make a second assay: yet GOD had otherways disposed, who struck TISQUANTUM with sickness; insomuch as he there died. Which crossed [*stopped*] their southward trading: and the more, because the Master's sufficiency was much doubted; and the season very tempestuous, and [in which it was] not fit to go upon discovery, having no guide to direct them.

From thence they departed; and, the wind being fair for the Massachusets [*i.e. Boston Bay*], [they] went thither; and the rather, because the savages, upon our

motion, had planted much corn for us: which they promised [to have ready] not long before that time. When they came thither, they found a great sickness to be amongst the Indians; not unlike the plague, if not the same. They renewed their complaints to our Governor, against that other Plantation seated by them [*at Wessagusset*]; for their injurious walking. But indeed the trade, both for furs and corn, was overthrown in that place: they [*Weston's men*] giving as much for a quart of corn, as we used to do for a beaver's skin. So that little good could be there done.

From thence, they returned into the bottom of the Bay of Cape Cod, to a place called Nauset [*now called Eastham*]: where [Aspinet,] the Sachem used the Governor very kindly; and where they bought eight or ten hogsheads of corn and beans.

Also at a place called Mattachiest [*the country between Barnstable and Yarmouth harbours: but here the word probably means Cummaquid = Barnstable harbour. See page* 474.]; where they had like kind entertainment, and corn also.

During the time of their trade in these places, there were so great and violent storms, as the ship [the *Swan*] was much endangered; and our shallop [was] cast away: so that they had now no means to carry the corn aboard that they had bought; the ship riding, by their report, well near two leagues from the same [*i.e. from Eastham*]; her own boat being small, and so leaky (having no Carpenter with them) as they durst scarce[ly] fetch wood or water in her.

Hereupon the Governor caused the corn to be made in a round stack; and bought mats and cut sedge, to cover it: and gave charge to the Indians, not to meddle with it; promising him that dwelt next to it a reward, if

he would keep vermin also from it; which he undertook, and [ASPINET] the Sachem promised to make good [*to see it was done*].

In the mean time, according the Governor's request; the [same] Sachem sent men to seek the shallop: which they found buried almost in sand at a high water mark; having many things in her, but unserviceable for the present. Whereof the Governor gave the Sachem special charge, that it should not be further broken; promising ere long to fetch both it and the corn: assuring them, if neither were diminished, he would take it as a sign of their honest and true friendship; but if they were, they should certainly smart for their unjust and dishonest dealing; and, further, make good whatsoever they had so taken.

So he did likewise at Mattachiest [*? Barnstable harbour*].

And took leave of them, being resolved to leave the ship [the *Swan*]; and take his journey home by land, with our own company: sending word to the ship, that they should take their first opportunity to go for Plymouth; where he determined, by the permission of GOD, to meet them.

And having procured a guide, it being no less than fifty miles to our Plantation [*i.e. from Eastham to Plymouth, by land*], set forward: receiving all respect that could be, from the Indians in his journey; and came safely home, though weary and surbated [*footsore*].

Whither, some three days after, the ship also came. The corn being divided, which they had got; Master WESTON's Company went to their own Plantation [at Wessagusset]: it being further agreed, that they should return, with all convenient speed, and bring their

Carpenter; that they might fetch the rest of the corn, and save their shallop.

At their return, Captain STANDISH, being recovered and in health, took another shallop, and went with them to the corn: which they found in safety, as they [had] left it. Also they mended the other shallop; and got all their corn aboard the ship [the *Swan*].

This was in January [1623], as I take it. It being very cold and stormy; insomuch as, the harbour [*Eastham harbour*] being none of the best, they were constrained to cut both the shallops from the ship's stern; and so lost them both, a second time. But the storm being over; and seeking out; they found them both, not having received any great hurt.

Whilst they were at Nauset [*Eastham*] (having occasion to lie on the shore; laying their shallop in a creek not far from them), an Indian came into the same, and stole certain beads, scissors, and other trifles, out of the same. Which when the Captain missed, he took certain of his company with him, and went to [ASPINET] the Sachem; telling him what had happened, and requiring the same again; or the party that stole them, who was known to certain of the Indians: or else he would revenge it on them before his departure. And so took leave for that night, [it] being late: refusing whatsoever kindness they offered.

On the morrow, [ASPINET] the Sachem came to their randevous [*encampment*], accompanied with many men, in a stately manner; who saluted the Captain in this wise, He thrust out his tongue [so] that one might see the root thereof, and therewith licked his hand from the wrist to the finger's end; withal bowing the knee, striving to imitate the English gesture; being instructed

therein formerly by TISQUANTUM. His men did the like: but in so rude and savage a manner as our men could scarce[ly] forbear to break [*from breaking*] out in open laughter.

After salutation, he delivered the beads and other things to the Captain; saying, He had much beaten the party for doing it; causing the women to make bread, and [to] bring [it to] them, according to their desire; seeming to be very sorry for the fact, but glad to be reconciled.

So they departed, and came home in safety: where the corn was equally divided, as before.

After this, the Governor [WILLIAM BRADFORD] went to two other inland towns, with another company; and bought corn likewise of them: the one is called Namasket [*Middleborough*]; the other, Manomet [*Sandwich*].

That from Namasket was brought home partly by Indian women: but a great sickness arising amongst them, our own men were inforced to fetch home the rest.

That at Manomet, the Governor left in the Sachem's custody. This town lieth from us south, well near twenty miles; and stands upon a fresh [water] river which runneth into the Bay of Nanohigganset [*This is an error. The Manomet river runs into Manomet or Buzzard's Bay; and not into Narragansett Bay.*]; and cannot be less than sixty miles from thence. It will bear a boat of eight or ten tons to this place [*Sandwich*]. Hither the French, or Dutch, or both, use [*are accustomed*] to come.

It is from hence to the Bay of Cape Cod [*at Scusset harbour*] about eight miles: out of which Bay it floweth

into a creek some six miles, almost direct towards the town. The heads of the [Manomet] river, and [of] this creek are not far distant.

The river yieldeth, thus high [from the ocean], oysters, mussels, clams, and other shell fish; one in shape like a bean, another like a clam: both good meat, and [in] great abundance at all times. Besides, it aboundeth with divers sorts of fresh fish, in their seasons.

The Governor or Sachem of this place [*Manomet*], was called CANACUM [*or* CAWNACOME]: who had formerly [*viz. on* 13*th September* 1621], as well as many others, (yea, all with whom as yet we had to do) acknowledged themselves the subjects of our Sovereign Lord the King.

This Sachem used the Governor very kindly; and, it seemed, was of good respect and authority amongst the Indians.

For whilst the Governor was there, within night, in bitter weather, came two men from Manamoick [*Chatham*] before spoken of; and having set aside their bows and quivers; according to their manner, sat down by the fire, and took a pipe of tobacco; not using any words in that time: nor any others to them; but all remained silent, expecting when they should speak.

At length, they looked towards CANACUM; and one of them made a short speech, and delivered a present to him from his Sachem: which was a basket of tobacco, and many beads; which the other received thankfully. After which, he made a long speech to him; the contents whereof were related to us by HOBBAMOCK, who then accompanied the Governor for his guide, to be as followeth:

It happened that two of their men fell out, as they were in game (for they use gaming as much as anywhere: and will play away all, even their skin from their backs; yea, and for their wives' skins also, although it may be they are many miles distant from them, as [I] myself have seen); and growing to [a] great heat, the one killed the other. The actor of this fact was a Powah [*Powow = a Medicine Man*]; one of special note amongst them, and such a one as they could not well miss: yet another people, greater than themselves, threatened them with war, if they would not put him to death. The party offending was in hold [*prison*]; neither would their Sachem do one way or another till their return: resting upon him for advice and furtherance in so weighty a matter.

After this, there was silence a short time. At length, men gave their judgement, What they thought best.

Amongst others, he asked HOBBAMOCK, What he thought?

Who answered, He was but a stranger to them: but thought it was better that one should die than many; since he had deserved it, and the rest were innocent.

Whereupon, he [*CANACUM*] passed the sentence of death upon him.

Not long after, having no great quantity of corn left, Captain STANDISH went again with a shallop to Mattachiest [*Barnstable harbour*]: meeting also with the like extremity of weather, both of wind snow and frost; insomuch as they were frozen in the harbour, the first night they entered the same.

Here they [*the Indians*] pretended their wonted love; and spared them a good quantity of corn to confirm the same. Strangers also came to this place, pretending to see him and his company; whom they never saw

before that time; but intending to join with the rest to kill them, as after appeared.

But, being forced through extremity [of weather], to lodge in their houses [*wigwams*], which they much pressed; GOD possessed the heart of the Captain with [a] just jealousy [*suspicion*]: giving strait command that as one part of his company slept, the rest should [keep a]wake; declaring some things to them which he understood, whereof he could make no good construction.

Some of the Indians, spying a fit opportunity, stole some beads also from him, which he no sooner perceived, having not above six men with him, [he] drew them all from the boat; and set them on their guard about the Sachem's house, where most of the people were: threatening to fall upon them without further delay, if they would not forthwith restore them; signifying to the Sachem especially, and so to them all, that as he would not offer the least injury; so he would not receive any at their hands, which should escape without punishment or due satisfaction.

Hereupon [, IYANOUGH,] the Sachem bestirred himself to find out the party; which, when he had done, [he] caused him to return them again to the shallop: and came to the Captain, desiring him to search whether they were not about the boat; who, suspecting their knavery, sent one, who found them lying openly upon the boat's cuddy [*locker*].

Yet, to appease his anger, they brought corn afresh to trade: insomuch as he laded his shallop, and so departed.

This accident so daunted their courage, as they durst not attempt anything against him. So that, through the good mercy and Providence of GOD, they returned in safety.

At this place [*Barnstable harbour*], the Indians get abundance of bass, both summer and winter: for it being now February, they abounded with them.

In the beginning of March [1623], having refreshed himself, he took a shallop, and went to Manomet [*? to Scusset harbour, which goes up westward towards Manomet*], to fetch home that which the Governor had formerly bought [*see page* 540]: hoping also to get more from them. But was deceived in his expectation: not finding that entertainment he found elsewhere, and [that] the Governor had there received.

The reason whereof, and of the treachery intended in the place before spoken of, was not then known unto us; but [till] afterwards: wherein may be observed the abundant mercies of GOD, working with his Providence for our good.

Captain STANDISH (being now far from the boat, and not above two or three of our men with him; and as many with the shallop) was not long at CANACUM the Sachem's house: but in came two of the Massachuset [*Boston Bay*] men. The chief of them was called WITUWAMAT a notable insulting villain: one who had formerly imbrued his hands in the blood of English and French, and had oft boasted of his own valour; and derided their weakness, especially because, as he said, they died crying, making sour faces, more like children than men.

This villain took a dagger from about his neck, which he had gotten of Master WESTON's people, and presented it to the Sachem; and after made a long speech, in an audacious manner, framing it in such sort as the Captain, though he be the best linguist [*i.e. in the Indian dialects*] amongst us, could not gather anything

from it. The end [*purpose*] of it was afterward discovered to be as followeth:

The Massacheuseucks had formerly concluded to ruinate Master WESTON's Colony; and thought themselves, being about thirty or forty men, strong enough to execute the same: yet they durst not attempt it till such time as they had gathered more strength to themselves, to make their party good against us at Plymouth; concluding that if we remained, (though they had no other arguments to use against us), yet we would never leave the death of our countrymen unrevenged; and therefore their safety could not be, without the overthrow of both Plantations.

To this end, they had formerly solicited this Sachem, as also the other called I[Y]ANOUGH at Mattachiest, and many others, to assist them: and now again came to prosecute the same. And since there was so fair an opportunity offered by the Captain's presence; they thought best to make sure [of] him and his company.

After this his message was delivered, his entertainment [by the Sachem] much exceeded the Captain's: insomuch as he [MILES STANDISH] scorned at their behaviour; and told them of it. After which, they would have persuaded him, because the weather was cold, to have sent to the boat for the rest of his company: but he would not, desiring, according to [their] promise, that the corn might be carried down, and he would content the women for their labour; which they did.

At the same time, there was a lusty Indian of Paomet [*Pamet*] or Cape Cod, then present; who had ever demeaned himself well towards us: being, in his general carriage, very affable, courteous, and loving; especially towards the Captain. This savage was now

entered into confederacy with the rest; yet, to avoid suspicion, made many signs of his continued affections: and would needs bestow [*give*] a kettle of some six or seven gallons, on him; and would not accept of anything in lieu thereof, saying, He was rich; and could afford to bestow such favours on his friends whom he loved. Also he would freely help to carry some of the corn: affirming he had never done the like in his life before. And the wind being bad, would needs lodge with him at their randevous [*encampment*]: having indeed undertaken to kill him, before they parted; which done, they intended to fall upon the rest.

The night proved exceedingly cold, insomuch as the Captain could not take any rest: but either walked, or turned himself to and fro at the fire.

This, the other observed; and asked, Wherefore he did not sleep as at other times?

Who answered, He knew not well; but [he] had no desire at all to rest.

So that he [*the Indian*] then missed his opportunity.

The wind serving on the next day, they returned home; accompanied with the [*this*] other Indian: who used many arguments to persuade them to go to Paomet [*Pamet*]; where [he] himself had much corn, and many others, the most whereof he would procure for us; seeming to sorrow for our wants.

Once the Captain put forth with him [*i.e. for Pamet*]; and was forced back by [a] contrary wind. Which wind serving for the Massachuset; [he] was fitted to go thither: but on a sudden it altered again.

During the time that the Captain was at Manomet, news came to Plymouth, that Massassowat was like[ly] to die; and that, at the same time, there was

a Dutch ship driven so high on the shore, by stress of weather, right before his dwelling [*at Sowams in Pokanoket*], that, till the tides increased, she could not be got off.

Now it being a commendable manner of the Indians, when any, especially of note, are dangerously sick, for all that profess friendship to them, to visit them in their extremity; either in their persons, or else to send some acceptable persons to them: therefore it was thought meet, being a good and warrantable action, that as we had ever professed friendship, so we should now maintain the same by observing this their laudable custom; and the rather, because we desired to have some conference with the Dutch; not knowing when we should have so fit an opportunity.

To that end, myself having formerly been there [*see pp.* 462-473], and understanding in some measure the Dutch tongue; the Governor again laid this service upon myself; and fitted me with some cordials, to administer to him: having one, Master JOHN HAMDEN (a Gentleman of London; who then wintered with us, and desired much to see the country) for my consort; and HOBBAMOCK for our guide.

So we set forward; and lodged the first night at Namasket [*Middleborough*], where we had friendly entertainment.

The next day, about one of the clock, we came to a ferry in CONBATANT'S [*or* CORBITANT'S] country: where, upon discharge of my piece, divers Indians came to us, from a house not far off. There they told us, That MASSASSOWAT was dead, and that day buried; and that the Dutch would be gone before we could get thither, having hove off their ship already. This news struck

us blank [*put us at a nonplus*]; but especially HOBBAMOCK: who desired we might return [to Plymouth] with all speed.

I told him, "I would first think of it. Considering now that he being dead, CONBATANT [*or* CORBITANT] was the most like[ly] to succeed him; and that we were not above three miles from Mattapuyst [*a neck of land, now called Gardner's Neck, in Swansey*], his dwelling place: although he were but a hollow-hearted friend towards us, I thought no time so fit as this to enter into more friendly terms with him, and the rest of the Sachems round about; hoping, through the blessing of GOD, it would be a means, in that unsettled state, to settle their affections towards us.

"And though it were somewhat dangerous, in respect of our personal safety; because myself and HOBBAMOCK had been imployed upon a service against him [*pp.* 479-482], which he might now fitly revenge: yet esteeming it the best means, leaving the event to GOD in his mercy, I resolved to put it in practice, if Master HAMPDEN and HOBBAMOCK durst attempt it with me."

Whom I found willing to that, or any other course, [that] might tend to the general good.

So we went towards Mattapuyst. In the way, HOBBAMOCK, manifesting a troubled spirit, brake forth into these speeches, *Neen womasu Sagimus! Neen womasu Sagimus! &c.*, "My loving Sachem! My loving Sachem! Many have I known; but never any like thee!"

And turning him to me, said, "Whilst I lived; I should never see his like amongst the Indians." Saying, He was no liar. He was not bloody and cruel like [the] other Indians. In anger and passion, he was soon reclaimed; easy to be reconciled towards such as had

offended him; ruled by reason in such measure, as he would not scorn the advice of mean men; and that he governed his men better with few strokes than others did with many; truly loving, where he loved. Yea, he feared we had not a faithful friend left among the Indians: shewing how he, oft times, restrained their malice, &c. Continuing a long speech, with such signs of lamentation and unfeigned sorrow, as it would have made the hardest heart relent.

At length, we came to Mattapuyst, and went to the *Sachimo Comaco*; for so they call the Sachem's place; though they call an ordinary house [*wigwam*] *Witeo*: but CONBATANT the Sachem was not at home; but at [Sowams in] Puckanokick, which was some five or six miles off. The Squa[w] Sachem, for so they call the Sachem's wife, gave us friendly entertainment.

Here we inquired again concerning MASSASSOWAT. They thought him [to be] dead; but knew no certainty.

Whereupon I hired one to go, with all expedition, to Puckanokick: that we might know the certainty thereof; and withal to acquaint CONBATANT with our there being.

About half an hour before sunsetting, the messenger returned; and told us, That he was not yet dead: though there was no hope we should find him living.

Upon this, we were much revived; and set forward with all speed, though it was late within night ere we got thither.

About two of the clock, that afternoon, the Dutchmen departed: so that, in that respect, our journey was frustrate [*of no avail*].

When we came thither [*i.e. to Sowams*], we found the house so full of men as we could scarce get in; though they used their best diligence to make way for us.

There were they, in the midst of their charms for him: making such a hellish noise, as it distempered us that were well; and therefore [was] unlike[ly] to ease him that was sick. About him were six or eight women, who chafed his arms, legs, and thighs; to keep heat in him.

When they had made an end of their charming; one told him, That his friends the English were come to see him.

Having [his] understanding left, but his sight was wholly gone; he asked, "Who was come?"

They told him, "WINSNOW." For they cannot pronounce the letter *l*; but ordinarily [use] *n* in the place thereof.

He desired to speak with me.

When I came to him, and they told him of it; he put forth his hand to me, which I took. Then he said twice, though very inwardly [*in a low tone*], *Keen WINSNOW?*, which is to say, "Art thou WINSLOW?"

I answered, *Ahhe*; that is, "Yes."

Then he doubled [*repeated*] these words, *Matta neen wonckanet namen WINSNOW!*, that is to say, "O WINSLOW, I shall never see thee again."

Then I called HOBBAMOCK, and desired him to tell MASSASSOWAT, That the Governor [WILLIAM BRADFORD], hearing of his sickness, was sorry for the same: and though, by reason of many businesses, he could not come himself; yet he sent me with such things for him, as he thought most likely to do him good, in this his extremity. And whereof, if he pleased to take; I would presently [*at once*] give him.

Which he desired. And having a confection [*preparation*] of many comfortable conserves &c.: on the point of my knife, I gave him some; which I could

scarce get through his teeth. When it was dissolved in his mouth, he swallowed the juice of it: whereat those that were about him, much rejoiced; saying, He had not swallowed anything in two days before.

Then I desired to see his mouth, which was exceedingly furred; and his tongue [had] swelled in such a manner, as it was not possible for him to eat such meat as they had, his passage [*gullet*] being stopped up. Then I washed his mouth, and scraped his tongue; and got abundance of corruption out of the same.

After which, I gave him more of the confection; which he swallowed with more readiness. Then he desiring to drink; I dissolved some of it in water, and gave him thereof. Within half an hour, this wrought a great alteration in him, in the eyes of all that beheld him. Presently after, his sight began to come to him: which gave him and us good encouragement.

In the mean time, I inquired, How he slept; and when he went to the stool?

They said, He slept not in two days before; and had not had a stool in five.

Then I gave him more [of the confection in water]; and told him of a mishap we had, by the way, in breaking a bottle of drink; which the Governor also sent him: saying, If he would send any of his men to Patuxet, I would send for more of the same; also for chickens to make him broth; and for other things which I knew were good for him: and would stay the return of the messenger, if he desired.

This he took marvellous[ly] kindly; and appointed some, who were ready to go by two of the clock in the morning: against which time, I made ready a letter, declaring therein our good success, the state of his body,

&c.; desiring to send me such things as I sent for, and such physic as the Surgeon [SAMUEL FULLER] durst administer to him.

He requested me that, the day following I would take my piece, and kill some fowl [*geese, ducks &c.*]; and make him some English pottage, such as he had eaten at Plymouth: which I promised.

After, his stomach [*appetite*] coming to him, I must needs make him some without fowl, before I went abroad. Which somewhat troubled me, being unaccustomed and unacquainted in such businesses; especially having nothing to make it comfortable [*tasty*]: my consort [Master JOHN HAMDEN] being as ignorant as myself. But [it] being, we must do somewhat; I caused a woman to bruise some corn, and take the flour from it: and we set the grut [*groats*], or broken corn, in a pipkin; for they have earthen pots of all sizes.

When the day broke, we went out, it being now March [1623], to seek herbs: but could not find any but strawberry leaves; of which I gathered a handful, and put in the same. And because I had nothing to relish it; I went forth again, and pulled up a saxafras [*sassafras*] root: and sliced a piece thereof, and boiled it [in the broth] till it [*the broth*] had a good relish; and then took it [*the slice of sassafras*] out again. The broth being boiled; I strained it through my [pocket] handkerchief: and gave him at least a pint, which he drank; and liked it very well. After this, his sight mended more and more: also he had three moderate stools; and took some rest. Insomuch as we, with admiration [*wonderment*], blessed GOD, for giving his blessing to such raw and ignorant means: making no doubt of his recovery; [he] himself, and all of them,

acknowledging us [to be] the Instruments of his preservation.

The morning, he caused me to spend in going from one to another, amongst those that were sick in the town: requesting me to wash their mouths also, and give to each of them some of the same [that] I gave him; saying, They were good folk. This pains I took with willingness; though it were much offensive to me, not being accustomed with [*to*] such poisonous savours.

After dinner, he desired me to get him a goose or duck; and make him some pottage therewith, with as much speed as I could.

So I took a man with me, and made a shot at a couple of ducks, some six score paces [= 100 *yards*] off; and killed one: at which he wondered. So we returned forthwith, and dressed it: making more broth therewith, which he much desired. Never did I see a man, so low brought, recover in that measure in so short a time.

The fowl being extraordinary fat, I told HOBBAMOCK, I must take off the top thereof [*the fat on the top of the pottage*]; saying, It would make him very sick again, if he did eat it. This he acquainted MASSASSOWAT therewith, who would not be persuaded to it: though I pressed it very much, shewing the strength thereof; and the weakness of his stomach, which could not possibly bear it. Notwithstanding he made a gross [*heavy*] meal of it; and ate as much as would well have satisfied a man in health. About an hour after, he began to be very sick; and straining very much, cast up the broth again: and in overstraining himself, began to bleed at the nose, and so continued the space of four hours. Then they all wished he had been ruled; concluding now he would die: which we much feared also.

They asked me, What I thought of him?

I answered, "His case was desperate: yet, it might be, it would save his life. For if it ceased in time, he would forthwith sleep, and take rest: which was the principal thing he wanted." Not long after, his blood stayed [*the bleeding ceased*]; and he slept at least six or eight hours.

When he awaked, I washed his face; and bathed and suppled his beard and nose with a linen cloth. But, on a sudden, he chopt [*put*] his nose in the water; and drew up some therein, and sent it forth with such violence as he began to bleed afresh. Then they thought there was no hope: but we perceived [that] it was but the tenderness of his nostril; and therefore told them, "I thought it would stay presently," as indeed it did.

The messengers were now returned. But finding his stomach [*appetite*] come to him; he would not have the chickens killed: but kept them for breed. Neither durst we give him any [of the] physic which was then sent; because his body was so much altered since our instructions: neither saw we any need, not doubting now of his recovery, if he were careful.

Many, whilst we were there, came to see him: some, by their report, from a place not less than a hundred miles. To all that came, one of his chief men related the manner of his sickness; how near[ly] he was spent; how, amongst others, his friends the English came to see him; and how suddenly they recovered him to this strength they saw: he being now able to sit upright of himself.

The day before our coming; another Sachem, being there, told him, That now he might see how hollow-hearted the English were. Saying, If we had been such friends in deed, as we were in shew, we would have visited him in this his sickness. Using many arguments

to withdraw his affections; and to persuade him to give way to some things against us, which were motioned [*suggested*] to him, not long before.

But upon this his recovery, he brake forth into these speeches, "Now I see the English are my friends, and love me: and whilst I live, I will never forget this kindness they have shewed me."

Whilst we were there, our entertainment exceeded [that of] all other strangers.

Divers other things were worth the noting: but I fear I have been too tedious.

At our coming away, he called HOBBAMOCK to him, and privately (none hearing save two or three of his *Pineses*, who are of his Council) revealed the plot of the Massacheuseucks, before spoken of, against Master WESTON'S Colony [at Wessagusset]; and so against us. Saying that the people of Nauset [*Eastham*] Paomet [*Pamet*] Succonet [*Falmouth*] Mattachiest [*Barnstable*] Agowaywam [*Wareham*] and the Isle of Capawack [*Martha's Vineyard*] were joined with them. Himself also, in his sickness, was earnestly solicited: but he would neither join therein; nor give way to any of his. Therefore (as we respected the lives of our countrymen; and our own after-safety) he advised us to kill the men of Massachuset; who were the authors of this intended mischief.

And whereas we were wont to say, We would not strike a stroke till they first began; if, said he, upon this intelligence, they [at Plymouth] make this answer, tell them, When their countrymen at Wichaguscusset [*Wessagusset*] are killed, they being not able to defend themselves; that then it will be too late to recover their lives. Nay, through the

multitude of adversaries, they shall, with great difficulty, preserve their own. And therefore he counselled, without delay to take away the principals [*originators*]; and then the plot would cease.

With this, he charged him thoroughly to acquaint me by the way; that I might inform the Governor [WILLIAM BRADFORD] thereof, at my first coming home.

Being fitted for our return, we took our leave of him: who returned many thanks to our Governor, and also to ourselves, for our labour and love. The like did all that were about him. So we departed.

That night, through the earnest request of CONBATANT [*or* CORBITANT], who till now remained at Sowams or Puckanukick [*Pokanoket*], we lodged with him at Mattapuyst.

By the way, I had much conference with him; so likewise at his house. He being a notable politician: yet full of merry jests and squibs [*quips* or *sarcasms*]; and never better pleased than when the like are returned again upon him.

Amongst other things he asked me, If, in case he were thus dangerously sick, as MASSASSOWAT had been, and should send word thereof to Patuxet for *maskiet*, that is, "physic": Whether then Master Governor would send it? and if he would, Whether I would come therewith to him?

To both which [questions], I answered, "Yea": whereat he gave me many joyful thanks.

After that, being at his house, he demanded further, How we durst, being but two, come so far into the country?

I answered, "Where was true love, there was no fear; and that my heart was so upright towards them, that, for mine own part, I was fearless to come among them."

"But," said he, "if your love be such, and it bring forth such fruits; how cometh it to pass that, when we come to Patuxet, you stand upon your guard, with the mouths of your pieces presented towards us [*i.e. firing a salute*]?"

Whereunto I answered, "It was the most honourable and respective [*respectful*] entertainment [*reception*] we could give them. It being an order [*custom*] amongst us, so to receive our best respected friends. And as it was used on the land; so the ships observed it also at sea: which HOBBAMOCK knew, and had seen observed."

But, shaking the head, he answered, That he liked not such salutations.

Further, observing us to crave a blessing on our meals, before we did eat; and after, to give thanks for the same: he asked us, What was the meaning of that ordinary custom?

Hereupon, I took occasion to tell them, of GOD's works of Creation and Preservation; of his Laws and Ordinances, especially of the Ten Commandments: all which they hearkened unto with great attention; and like well of. Only the Seventh Commandment they excepted against; thinking there were many inconveniences in it, that a man should be tied to one woman. About which, we reasoned a good time.

Also I told them, That whatsoever good things we had; we received them from GOD, as the Author and Giver thereof; and therefore craved his blessing upon that we had, and were about to eat, that it might nourish and strengthen our bodies; and having eaten sufficient, being satisfied therewith, we again returned thanks to the same our GOD, for that our refreshing, &c.

This all of them concluded to be very well; and

said, They believed almost all the same things: and that the same Power that we called GOD, they called Kietitan.

Much profitable conference was occasioned thereby; which would be too tedious to relate: yet was no less delightful to them, than comfortable to us.

Here we remained only that night: but never had better entertainment amongst any of them.

The day following, in our journey, HOBBAMOCK told me, of the private conference he had with MASSASSOWAT; and how he charged him perfectly [*thoroughly*] to acquaint me therewith: as I shewed before.

Which having done, he used many arguments himself, to move us thereunto.

That night, we lodged at Namasket [*Middleborough*].

And the day following, about the midway between it and home, we met two Indians; who told us that Captain STANDISH was, that day, gone to the Massachusets.

But contrary winds again drove him back; so that we found him at home. Where the Indian of Paomet still was: being very importunate that the Captain should take the first opportunity of a fair wind, to go with him. But their secret and villanous purposes being, through GOD's mercy, now made known: the Governor caused Captain STANDISH to send him away, without any distaste, or manifestation of anger, that we might the better effect and bring to pass that which should be thought most necessary.

Before this journey [to Sowams], we heard many complaints, both by the Indians, and some others of best desert amongst Master WESTON's Colony, how

exceedingly their Company abased themselves, by undirect means, to get victuals from the Indians who dwelt not far from them, fetching them wood and water &c.; and all for a meal's meat. Whereas, in the mean time, they might with diligence have gotten enough to have served them three or four times [over]. Others, by night, brake [through] the earth; and robbed the Indians' store; for which they had been publicly stocked [*put in the stocks*] and whipt: and yet there was there small amendment. This was about the end of February [1623]: at which time, they had spent all their bread and corn, not leaving any for seed; neither would the Indians lend, or sell, them any more, upon any terms.

Hereupon they had thoughts to take it by violence; and to that [end], spiked up every entrance into their town [*Wessagusset*], [it] being well impaled, save one: with a full resolution to proceed.

But some, more honestly minded, advised JOHN SANDERS, their Overseer, first to write to Plymouth; and if the Governor advised him thereunto, he might the better do it. This course was well liked; and an Indian was sent, with all speed, with a letter to our Governor; the contents whereof were to this effect:

That being in great want, and their people daily falling down; he intended to go to Munhiggen [*Monhegan*] (where was a Plantation of Sir FERDINANDO GORGES), to buy bread from the ships that came thither a fishing, with the first opportunity of wind: but he knew not how the Colony would be preserved till his return.

He had used all means, both to buy and borrow [corn] of [the] Indians; whom he knew to be stored, and, [as] he thought, maliciously withheld it: and therefore was resolved to take it by violence; and only waited the return of the messenger, which he desired should be hastened.

Craving advice therein: promising also to make restitution afterwards.

The Governor, upon the receipt hereof, asked the messenger, What store of corn they [*the Boston Bay Indians*] had? as if he had intended to buy of them.

Who answered, Very little more than that they reserved for seed; having already spared all they could.

Forthwith, the Governor [WILLIAM BRADFORD] and his Assistant [ISAAC ALLERTON] sent for many of us, to advise with them herein. Who, after serious consideration, no way approving of this intended course; the Governor answered his letter, and caused many of us to set our hands thereto, the contents whereof were to this purpose:

We altogether disliked their intendment [*purpose*], as being against the law of GOD and Nature; shewing how it would cross [*stop*] the worthy ends and proceedings of the King's Majesty, and his honourable Council for this place [*the Council for the Affairs of New England*], both in respect of the peaceable enlarging of His Majesty's dominions, and also of the propagation of the knowledge and law of GOD, and the glad tidings of Salvation: which we, and they, were bound to seek; and not to use such means as would breed a distaste [*dislike*] in the savages against our persons and Professions: assuring them, their Master would incur much blame thereby; neither could they answer the same.

For our own parts, our case was almost the same with theirs; having but a small quantity of corn left: and [we] were enforced to live on groundnuts, clams, mussels, and such other things as naturally the country afforded; and which did, and would, maintain strength, and were easy to be gotten. All which things they had in great abundance; yea, oysters also, which we wanted: and [t]herefore necessity could not be said to constrain them thereunto.

Moreover, that they should consider, if they proceeded therein, [that] all they could so get would maintain them but a small time; and then they must, perforce, seek their food abroad: which, having made the Indians their enemies, would be very difficult for them. And therefore [it was] much better to begin a little the sooner; and so continue their peace: upon which course they might, with good conscience, desire and expect the blessing of GOD; whereas on the contrary, they could not.

Also that they should consider their own weakness, being most[ly] swelled and diseased in their bodies; and therefore the more unlike[ly] to make their party good against them [*have the victory over the Boston Bay Indians*]; and that they should not expect help from us in that, or any [other] the like unlawful actions.

Lastly, that howsoever some of them might escape, yet the Principal Agents should expect no better than the Gaol House; whensoever any special Officer should be sent over by His Majesty, or his Council for New England; which we expected: and who would undoubtedly call them to account for the same.

These were the contents of our answer; which was directed to their whole Colony.

Another particular [*private*] letter, our Governor sent to JOHN SANDERS; shewing how dangerous it would be for him, above all others; [it] being he was their leader and Commander: and therefore, in friendly manner, advised him to desist.

With these letters, we despatched the messenger.

Upon the receipt whereof, they altered their determination: resolving to shift as they could, till the return of JOHN SANDERS from Munhiggen [*Monhegan*].

Who, first coming to Plymouth, notwithstanding our own necessities, the Governor spared him some corn to carry [*feed*] them to Munhiggen. But not having sufficient for the ship's [the *Swan*] store: he [*JOHN SANDERS*] took a shallop; and leaving others with instructions to oversee things till his return, set forward about the end of February [1623]. So that he knew not of this conspiracy of the Indians before his going: neither was it known to any of us, till our return from Sowams or Puckanokick.

At which time also, another Sachem, called WASSAPINEWAT, brother to OBTAKIEST the Sachem of the Massachusets: who had formerly smarted for

partaking with COUBATANT [*or* CORBITANT: *see pp.* 479-482]; and fearing the like again, to purge himself, revealed the same thing.

The three and twentieth of March [1623] [*The Reader should remember that the English year began on the 25th March*], which is a Yearly Court Day, the Governor [WILLIAM BRADFORD] (having a double testimony; and many circumstances agreeing with the truth thereof), not being [empowered] to undertake war without the consent of the [main] body of the Company, made known the same in Public Court, offering it to the consideration of the Company: it being high time to come to resolution, how sudden soever it seemed to them; fearing it [*i.e. the intended massacre of the whites at Wessagusset*] would be put in execution before we could give any intelligence thereof.

This business was no less troublesome than grievous; and the more, because it is so ordinary, in these times, for men to measure things by the events [*results*] thereof: but especially for that we knew no means to deliver our countrymen and preserve ourselves, than by returning their malicious and cruel purposes upon their own heads; and causing them to fall into the same pit [which] they had digged for others—though it much grieved us to shed the blood of those; whose good we ever intended and aimed at as a principal [purpose] in all our proceedings. But in the end, we came to this public conclusion:

That because it was a matter of such weight as every man was not of sufficiency to judge, nor fitness to know; because of many other Indians which daily, as occasion serveth, converse [*have intercourse*] with us: therefore the Governor [WILLIAM BRADFORD], [ISAAC ALLERTON] his Assistant, and the Captain [MILES STANDISH], shall

take such to themselves, as they thought most meet; and conclude thereof [*finish off the matter*].

Which done, we [*i.e. the above three, and their chosen associates*] came to this conclusion:

That Captain STANDISH should take so many men as he thought sufficient to make his party good against all the Indians in the Massachuset Bay [*Boston Bay*]. And because, as all men know that have had to do in that kind, it is impossible to deal with them upon open defiance; but to take them in such traps as they lay for others: therefore he should pretend to trade, as at other times; but first go to the English [at Wessagusset], and acquaint them with the plot, and the end of his own coming. That comparing it with their [*the Boston Bay Indians'*] own carriages [*behaviour*] towards them, he might the better judge of the certainty of it; and more fitly take opportunity to revenge the same: but should forbear, if it were possible, till such time as he could make sure [of] WITUWAMAT, that bloody and bold villain before spoken of; whose head he had order to bring [back] with him, that it might be a warning and terror to all of that disposition.

Upon this, Captain STANDISH made choice of eight men: and would not take more, because he would prevent jealousy [*suspicion*]; knowing their guilty consciences would soon be provoked thereunto.

But on the next day before he could go, came [PHINEHAS PRAT,] one of Master WESTON's Company, by land unto us, with his pack [*bundle*] at his back; who made a pitiful narration of their lamentable and weak estate, and of the Indians' carriages [*behaviour*]. Whose boldness increased abundantly, insomuch as the victuals they [*the Englishmen*] got, they would take it out of their

pots and eat [it] before their faces; yea, if in anything they gainsaid them, they [*the Indians*] were ready to hold a knife at their breasts; that to give them content, since JOHN SANDERS went to Munhiggen [*Monhegan*], they had hanged one of them [*of the English*] that stole their corn, and yet they [*the Indians*] regarded it not; that another of their Company was turned savage [*Indian*]; that their people had most[ly] forsaken the town, and made their randevous [*encampment*] where they got their victuals, because they would not take pains to bring it home; that they had sold their clothes for corn, and were ready to starve, both with cold and hunger also, because they could not indure to get victuals, by reason of their nakedness; and that they were dispersed into three companies, scarce having any powder and shot left.

What would be the event of these things, he said, he much feared; and therefore, not daring to stay any longer among them, though he knew not the way, yet adventured to come to us: partly to make known their weak and dangerous estate, as he conceived; and partly to desire [that] he might there [*at Plymouth*] remain, till things were better settled at the other Plantation.

As this Relation was grievous to us: so it gave us good encouragement to proceed in our intendments [*designs*]; for which Captain STANDISH was now fitted: and the wind coming fair, the next day, [he] set forth for the Massachusets.

The Indians at the Massachusets missed this man; and suspecting his coming to us, as we conceive, sent one after him: and gave out there, that he would never come to Patuxet; but that some wolves or bears would eat him. But we know, both by our own experience and the report of others, that, though they find a man

sleeping; yet so soon as there is life discerned, they fear and shun him.

The Indian missed him but [by] very little; and missing him, passed by the town [of Plymouth] and went to Manomet [*Sandwich*]; whom we hoped to take at his return: as afterward we did.

Now was our Fort made fit for service, and some ordnance mounted: and though it may seem [a] long work, it being ten months [*May* 1622, *see pp.* 530-531—*March* 1623] since it [was] begun; yet we must note that where so great a work is begun with such small means, a little time cannot bring [it] to perfection.

Besides, those works which tend to the preservation of man, the Enemy of Mankind will hinder what in him lieth; sometimes blinding the judgement, and causing reasonable men to reason against their own safety: as, amongst us, divers, seeing the work prove tedious, would have dissuaded from proceeding [with it]; flattering themselves with peace and security, and accounting it rather a work of superfluity and vain glory than [of] simple necessity. But GOD (whose Providence hath waked, and, as I may say, watched, for us; whilst we slept) having determined to preserve us from these intended treacheries, undoubtedly ordained this as a special means to advantage us, and discourage our enemies: and therefore so stirred up the hearts of the Governors and other forward Instruments, as the work was just made serviceable against this needful and dangerous time; though we [were] ignorant of the same.

But that I may proceed. The Indian, last mentioned, in his return from Manomet [*Sandwich*], came through the town [of Plymouth], pretending still friendship, and in love to see us: but, as formerly others', so his end was, to see whether we continued in health and strength; or

fell into weakness, like their neighbours [at Wessagusset]; which they hoped and looked for (though GOD in mercy provided better for us), and he know would be glad tidings to his countrymen.

But here the Governor stayed [*arrested*] him; and sending for him to the Fort, there gave the guard charge of him, as their prisoner: where he told him, He must be contented to remain till the return of Captain STANDISH from the Massachusets.

So he was locked in a chain to a staple [*post*] in the Court of Guard [*Guard Room*]; and there kept. Thus was our Fort handselled [*used for the first time*]: this being the first day, as I take it, that ever any watch was there kept.

The Captain, being now come to the Massachusets [*i.e. to Wessagusset*], went first to the ship [the *Swan*]; but found neither man, nor so much as a dog therein. Upon the discharge of a musket; the Master [of the *Swan*] and some others of the Plantation shewed themselves: who were on shore, gathering groundnuts, and getting other food. After salutation, Captain STANDISH asked them, How they durst so leave the ship, and live in such security?

Who answered like men senseless of their own misery, They feared not the Indians: but lived [with them], and suffered them to lodge with them; not having sword or gun, or needing the same.

To which, the Captain answered, If there were no cause, he was the gladder.

But, upon further inquiry, understanding that those in whom JOHN SANDERS had received [*placed*] most special confidence, and left in his stead to govern the rest, were at the Plantation: thither he went.

And, to be brief, made known the Indians' purpose,

and the end of his own coming: as also (which formerly I omitted), That if, afterward, they durst not there stay it was the intendment [*intention*] of the Governors and People of Plymouth, there to receive them, till they could be better provided: but if they conceived of any other course that might be more likely for their good; that himself should further them therein, to the uttermost of his power.

These men, comparing other circumstances with that they now heard, answered, They could expect no better: and it was GOD's mercy that they were not killed before his coming; desiring therefore that he would neglect no opportunity to proceed.

Hereupon he advised them to secrecy; yet withal to send special command to [the] one third of their Company that were farthest off, to come home: and there enjoined them, on pain of death, to keep the town [*Wessagusset*]; himself allowing them a pint of Indian corn to a man for a day; though that store he had, was spared out of our seed.

The weather proving very wet and stormy; it was the longer before he could do anything.

In the mean time, an Indian came to him, and brought some furs: but rather to gather what he could from the Captain's [proceedings], than coming then for trade. And though the Captain carried things as smoothly as he possibly could: yet, at his return, he [*the Indian*] reported, He saw, by his eyes, that he [*the Captain*] was angry in his heart: and therefore [they] began to suspect themselves discovered.

This caused one PECKSUOT, who was a *Pinese*, being a man of a notable spirit, to come to HOBBAMOCK, who was then with them, and told him, He understood that the Captain was come to kill himself, and the rest of

the savages there. "Tell him," said he, "we know it: but fear him not, neither will we shun him. But let him begin, when he dare; he shall not take us at unawares."

Many times after, divers of them, severally, or a few together, came to the Plantation to him: where they would whet and sharpen the points of their knives before his face; and use many other insulting gestures and speeches.

Amongst the rest, WITUWAMAT bragged of the excellency of his knife: on the end of the handle [of which] there was pictured a woman's face. "But," said he, "I have another at home, wherewith I have killed both French and English: and that hath a man's face on it; and, by and bye, these two must marry." Further, he said of that knife he there had, *Hinnaim namen, hinnaim michen, matta cuts*, that is to say, "By and bye it should see; and by and bye it should eat, but not speak."

Also PECKSUOT, being a man of greater stature than the Captain, told him, Though he were a great Captain; yet he was but a little man. And said he, "Though I be no Sachem; yet I am a man of great strength and courage."

These things the Captain observed; yet bore with patience for the present.

On the next day, seeing he could not get many of them together at once; and this PECKSUOT and WITUWAMAT [being] both together, with another man, and a youth of some eighteen years of age, which was brother to WITUWAMAT and, villain-like, trode in his steps, daily putting many tricks upon the weaker sort of [English] men; and having about as many [*i.e.*, *four*] of his own Company in a room with them; [the Captain] gave the word to his men.

And the door being fast shut, [he] began himself with PECKSUOT; and, snatching his own knife from his neck, though with much struggling, [he] killed him therewith: the point whereof, he had made as sharp as a needle; and [had] ground the back also to an edge. WITUWAMAT and the other man, the rest killed; and took the youth, whom the Captain caused to be hanged. But it is incredible how many wounds these two *Pineses* [*WITUWAMAT and PECKSUOT*] received before they died; not making any fearful noise, but catching at their weapons and striving to the last.

HOBBAMOCK stood by, all this time, as a spectator and meddled not: observing how our men demeaned themselves in this action. All being here ended, smiling he brake forth into these speeches to the Captain, "Yesterday, PECKSUOT, bragging of his own strength and stature, said, 'Though you were a great Captain; yet you were but a little man.' But to-day, I see you are big enough to lay him on the ground."

But to proceed. There being some women [there] at the same time; Captain STANDISH left them in the custody of Master WESTON's people, at the town [of Wessagusset]: and sent word to another Company, that had intelligence of things, to kill those Indian men that were amongst them. These killed two more.

[He] himself also, with some of his own men, went to another place; where they killed another: and, through the negligence of one man, an Indian escaped; who discovered and crossed [*put an end to*] their proceedings.

Not long before this execution, three of Master WESTON's men (which more regarded their bellies, than any command or Commander) having formerly fared

well with the Indians for making them canoes, went to [OBTAKIEST] the Sachem, to offer their service; and had entertainment.

The first night they [*Captain STANDISH's party*] came thither [*to Wessagusset*], within night late, came a messenger, with all speed, and delivered a sad [*an important*] and short message. Whereupon all the [three] men gathered together, put on their boots and breeches, trussed [*tied*] up themselves, and took their bows and arrows and went forth: telling them [*the Englishmen*], they went a hunting; and that, at their return, they should have venison enough.

Being now gone, one, being more ancient and wise than the rest, calling former things to mind, especially the Captain's presence and the strait charge [he had given] that, on pain of death, none should go a musket shot from the Plantation; and comparing this sudden departure of theirs therewith, began to dislike [it], and wish himself at home again; which was further off than divers others dwelt [at]. Hereupon, he moved his fellows to return; but could not persuade them. So there being none but women left [at Wessagusset], and the other [Englishman] that was turned savage: about midnight, [he] came away, forsaking the paths [*trails*] lest he should be pursued; and by this means, saved his life. [*The other two, with a third Englishman, were killed: see page* 574.]

Captain STANDISH took the one half of his men, and one or two of Master WESTON's, and HOBBAMOCK; still seeking to make spoil of them and theirs. At length, they espied a file of Indians, which made towards them amain. And there being a small advantage in the ground, by reason of a hill, near

them; both companies strove for it. Captain STANDISH got it. Whereupon they retreated, and took each man [to] his tree: letting fly their arrows amain, especially at himself and HOBBAMOCK. Whereupon HOBBAMOCK cast off his coat; and being a known *Pinese*, theirs being now killed, chased them so fast, as our people were not able to hold way with him: insomuch as our men could have but one certain mark; and then but the arm and half face of a notable villain, as he drew at Captain STANDISH. Who, together with another, both discharged [their muskets] at once at him, and brake his arm. Whereupon they [the *Indians*] fled into a swamp.

When they were in the thicket, they parleyed: but to small purpose, getting nothing but foul language. So our Captain dared [OBTAKIEST] the Sachem to come out, and fight like a man; shewing how base and womanlike he was, in tonguing [*reviling*] it, as he did. But he refused, and fled.

So the Captain returned to the Plantation [at Wessagusset], where he released the women: and would not take their beaver coats from them, nor suffer the least discourtesy to be offered them.

Now were Master WESTON'S people resolved to leave their Plantation; and go for Munhiggen [*Monhegan*]: hoping to get passage, and return [to England] with the fishing ships.

The Captain told them, That, for his own part, he durst there live with fewer men than they were; yet since they were otherways minded, according to his order from the Governors and People of Plymouth, he would help them with corn competent for their provision by the way. Which he did, scarce leaving himself more than brought them home.

Some of them disliked the choice of the [main]

body to go to Munhiggen; and therefore desiring to go with him to Plymouth, he took them into the shallop.

And seeing them [*the main body in the* Swan] set sail, and clear of the Massachuset Bay; he took leave, and returned to Plymouth: whither he came in safety, blessed be GOD!; and brought the head of WITUWAMAT with him.

Amongst the rest, there was an Indian youth, that was ever of a courteous and loving disposition towards us. He, notwithstanding the death of his countrymen [*the Boston Bay Indians*], came to the Captain without fear; saying, His good conscience and love towards us imboldened him so to do. This youth confessed, That the Indians intended to kill Master WESTON's people; and not to delay any longer than till they had two more canoes or boats: which Master WESTON's people would have finished by this time, having made them three already; had not the Captain prevented [*anticipated*] them, and the end of stay for [*purpose in building*] those boats, was to take their ship [the *Swan*] therewith.

Now was the Captain returned, and received with joy: the head [of WITUWAMAT] being brought to the Fort, and set up [*as traitors' heads were then set on spikes, in England*]. The Governors and Captains, with divers others, went up [to] the same, further to examine the prisoner [, *the Boston Bay Indian, who pursued PHINEHAS PRATT*]: who looked piteously on the head.

Being asked, Whether he knew it? he answered "Yea."

Then he confessed the plot: and that all the people provoked OBTAKIEST their Sachem thereunto; [he]

being drawn into it by their importunity. Five there were, he said, that prosecuted it with more eagerness than the rest. The two principal [ones] were killed: being PECKSUOT, and WITUWAMAT whose head was there. The other three were Powahs [= *Powwows* = *Medicine Men*], being yet living and known to us; though one of them was wounded, as aforesaid. For himself, he would not acknowledge that he had any hand therein; begging earnestly for his life: saying, He was not a Massachuset man; but, as a stranger, lived with them.

HOBBAMOCK also gave a good report of him, and besought for him: but was bribed so to do. Nevertheless, that we might shew mercy as well as extremity, the Governor released him: and the rather, because we desired that he might carry a message to OBTAKIEST his master.

No sooner were the irons from his legs; but he would have been gone: but the Governor bade him stay and fear not, for he should receive no hurt. And, by HOBBAMOCK, commanded him to deliver this message to his master:

That, for our parts, it never entered into our hearts to take such a course with them, till their own treachery enforced us thereunto; and therefore [they] might thank themselves for their own overthrow. Yet, since he had begun; if again, by any [of] the like courses, he did provoke him, his country should not hold him: for he would never suffer him, or his, to rest in peace, till he had utterly consumed them; and therefore [that he] should take this as a warning. Further, that he should send to Patuxet, the three Englishmen he had; and not kill them. Also, that he should not spoil [*destroy*] the pale [*palisade*] and houses at Wichaguscusset [*Wessagusset*].

And that this messenger should either bring the English, or an answer; or both: [the Governor] promising his safe return [to him].

This message was delivered; and the party would have returned with answer: but was at first dissuaded; whom, afterwards, they would, but could not, persuade to come to us. At length, though long [after], a woman came and told us, That OBTAKIEST was sorry that the English were killed before he heard from the Governor: otherwise he would have sent them. Also she said, He would fain make his peace again with us; but none of his men durst come to treat about it: [he] having forsaken his dwelling, and daily removed from place to place; expecting when we would take further vengeance on him.

Concerning those other people that intended to join with the Massachuseucks against us, though we never went against any of them; yet this sudden and unexpected execution, together with the just judgement of GOD upon their guilty consciences, hath so terrified and amazed them as, in like manner, they forsook their houses, running to and fro like men distracted, living in swamps and other desert places: and so brought manifold diseases amongst themselves, whereof very many are dead; as CANACUM the Sachem of Manomet [*Sandwich*], ASPINET the Sachem of Nauset [*Eastham*], IYANOUGH, Sachem of Mattachiest [*Barnstable*]. This [last] Sachem, in his life, in the midst of these distractions, said, The God of the English was offended with them; and would destroy them in his anger. And certainly it is strange to hear how many of late have [died], and still daily die amongst them. Neither is there any likelihood it will easily cease: because, through fear,

they set little or no corn, which is the staff of life; and without which, they cannot long preserve health and strength. From one of these places, a boat was sent with presents to the Governor, hoping thereby to work their peace; but the boat was cast away, and three of the persons drowned, not far from our Plantation: only one escaped; who durst not come to us, but returned. So as none of them dare [to] come amongst us.

I fear I have been too tedious, both in this and other things: yet when I considered how necessary a thing it is that the truth and grounds of this action especially, should be made known; and [also] the several dispositions of that dissolved Colony [*at Wessagusset*], whose reports undoubtedly will be as various: I could not but enlarge myself, where I thought to be most brief; neither durst I be too brief, lest I should eclipse and rob GOD of that honour, glory, and praise which belongeth to him for preserving us from falling, when we were at the pit's brim; and yet feared [not], nor knew not that we were in danger.

This month of April [1623] being now come, on all hands, we began to prepare for corn. And because there was no corn left before this time, save that [which] was preserved for seed; being also hopeless of relief by Supply [*reinforcement*]: we thought [it] best to leave off all other works, and prosecute that, as most necessary. *Anno* 1623.

And because there was so small hope of doing good in that common [*general*] course of labour that formerly we were in; for that the Governors that followed men to their labours, had nothing to give men for their

necessities; and therefore could not so well exercise that command over them therein, as formerly they had done. Especially considering that self-love [*self-interest*]; wherewith every man, in a measure more or less, loveth "and preferreth his own good before his neighbours': and also the base disposition of some drones that, as at other times so now especially, would be most burdenous to the rest. It was therefore thought best, That every man should use the best diligence he could, for his own preservation, both in respect of the time present, and to prepare his own corn for the year following: and [to] bring in a competent portion for the maintenance of Public Officers, Fishermen, &c.; which could not be freed from their Calling, without greater inconveniences.

This course was to continue till harvest: and then the Governors to gather in the appointed portion, for the maintenance of themselves and such others as necessity constrained to exempt from this condition. Only, if occasion served, upon any special service, they might employ such as they thought most fit to execute the same, during this appointed time: and at the end thereof, all men to be employed by them, in such service as they thought most necessary for the general good. And because there is great difference in the ground, that therefore a set quantity [*viz. one acre, see pp.* 383-385] should be set down for a person: and each man to have his fall by lot; as being most just and equal, and against which no man could except.

At a General Meeting of the Company [? *in March* 1623], many courses were propounded: but this approved and followed, as being the most likely for the present and future good of the Company; and therefore before this month [of April], [we] began to prepare our ground against seed time.

In the midst of April, we began to set, the weather being then seasonable: which much incouraged us, giving us good hopes of after plenty. The setting season is good till the latter end of May.

But it pleased GOD, for our further chastisement, to send a great drought; insomuch as in six weeks after the latter setting [? 1*st June*—? 15*th July* 1623] there scarce fell any rain: so that the stalk of that [which] was first set, began to send forth the ear before it came to half growth; and that which was later [set], not like[ly] to yield us any [corn] at all, both blade and stalk hanging the head and changing the colour in such a manner as we judged it utterly dead. Our beans also ran not up, according to their wonted manner; but stood at a stay: many being parched away, as though they had been scorched before the fire. Now were our hopes overthrown; and we discouraged: our joy being turned into mourning.

To add also to this sorrowful estate in which we were; we heard of a Supply [*reinforcement*] that was sent unto us many months since: which [ship, the *Paragon*], having two repulses before, was a third time in company of another ship, three hundred leagues at sea [*i.e.* 900 *miles from England*]; and now, in three months' time, heard no further of her. Only the signs of a wreck were seen on the coast; which could not be judged to be any other than the same.

So that, at once, GOD seemed to deprive us of all future hopes. The most courageous were now discouraged; because GOD, which hitherto had been our only Shield and Supporter, now seemed, in his anger, to arm himself against us: and who can withstand the fierceness of his wrath?

These, and the like considerations moved not only

every good man privately to enter into examination with his own estate [*condition*] between GOD and his conscience; and so to humiliation before him: but also more solemnly to humble ourselves together before the LORD by fasting and prayer.

To that end, a Day was appointed by public authority, and set apart from all other employments: hoping that the same GOD which had stirred us up hereunto, would be moved hereby in mercy to look down upon us, and grant the request of our dejected souls; if our continuance there, might any way stand with his glory and our good.

But, O the mercy of our GOD! who was as ready to hear as we to ask. For though in the morning, when we assembled together, the heavens were as clear, and the drought as like[ly] to continue, as ever it was: yet, our Exercise [*Public Worship*] continuing some eight or nine hours, before our departure, the weather was overcast, [and] the clouds gathered together on all sides. And, on the next morning, [they] distilled such soft, sweet, and moderate showers of rain, continuing some fourteen days [? 18*th*—31*st July*], and mixed with such seasonable weather; as it was hard to say, Whether our withered corn, or [our] drooping affections, were most quickened or revived. Such was the bounty and goodness of our GOD.

Of this, the Indians, by means of HOBBAMOCK, took notice. Who being then in the town [of Plymouth], and this Exercise [occurring] in the midst of the week, said, It was but three days since Sunday [*therefore the Fast was on a Wednesday*]. And [he] therefore demanded of a boy, What was the reason thereof? Which when he knew, and saw what effects followed thereupon; he and all of them [*the Indians*] admired [*wondered at*] the

goodness of our GOD towards us, that wrought so great a change in so short a time. Shewing the difference between their conjuration, and our invocation on the name of GOD, for rain. Theirs being mixed with such storms and tempests as sometimes, instead of doing them good, it layeth the corn flat on the ground, to their prejudice: but ours, in so gentle and seasonable a manner, as they never observed the like.

At the same time, Captain STANDISH, being formerly employed by the Governor to buy provisions for the refreshing of the Colony, returned with the same; accompanied with one Master DAVID TOMSON, a Scotchman: who also, that Spring [of 1623], began a Plantation twenty-five leagues north-east from us, near Smith's Isles [now called the *Isles of Shoals*], at a place called Pascatoquack [or rather, *Little Harbour, on the Piscataqua river; the present Portsmouth, in New Hampshire*]; which he liketh well.

Now also heard we of the third repulse of our Supply [*reinforcement*], of their safe though dangerous return [in the *Paragon*] into England; and of their preparation to come to us [in the *Anne*].

So that, having these many signs of GOD's favour and acceptation, we thought it would be great ingratitude, if secretly we should smoother up the same; or content ourselves with private thanksgiving for that which by private prayer could not be obtained. And therefore another Solemn Day was set apart and appointed for that end: wherein we returned glory honour and praise, with all thankfulness to our good GOD, which dealt so graciously with us; whose name (for these, and all other his mercies towards his Church and chosen ones), by them, be blessed and praised, now and evermore. Amen.

In the latter end of July, and the beginning of August [1623], came two ships with Supply [*reinforcements*] unto us; who brought all their passengers in health, except one who recovered in [a] short time: who also, notwithstanding all our wants and hardships, blessed be GOD!, found not any one sick person amongst us, at the Plantation.

The bigger ship, called the *Anne*, was hired; and there [at Plymouth] again [was] freighted back: from whence we * set sail, the 10th of September [1623].

The lesser, called the *Little James*, was built for the Company; at their charge. She was now also fitted for trade and discovery to the southward of Cape Cod; and almost ready to set sail: whom, I pray GOD to bless, in her good and lawful proceedings.

Thus have I made a true and full Narration of the state of our Plantation; and such things as were most remarkable therein since December 1621. If I have omitted anything; it is either through weakness of memory, or because I judged it [to be] not material. I confess my style [to be] rude; and [my] unskilfulness in the task I undertook: being urged thereunto by opportunity [*having had the chance of obtaining knowledge on the spot by actual experience*], which I knew to be wanting in others; and but for which, I would not have undertaken the same. Yet, as it is rude; so it is plain, and therefore the easier to be understood.

Wherein others may see that, which we are bound to acknowledge, viz., That if ever any people, in these later Ages, were upheld, by the Providence of GOD, after a more special manner than others; then we

* Edward Winslow, the Writer of this *Good News &c.*, therefore came to England in the *Anne*: and the utmost period of this narrative is therefore from the 13th December 1621 to the 10th September 1623.—E. A.

[were]: and therefore are the more bound to celebrate the memory of his goodness, with everlasting thankfulness.

For, in these forenamed straits, such was our state, as, in the morning, we had often our food to seek for the day; and yet performed the duties of our Callings. I mean the other daily labours, to provide for after time. And though, at some times, in some seasons, at noon, I have seen men stagger, by reason of faintness for want of food: yet, ere night, by the good Providence and blessing of GOD, we have enjoyed such plenty, as though the windows of heaven had been opened unto us.

How few, weak, and raw [*inexperienced*] were we at our first beginning, and there settling; and in the midst of barbarous enemies! Yet GOD wrought our peace for us.

How often have we been at the pit's brim, and in danger to be swallowed up: yea not knowing, till afterward, that we were in peril? And yet GOD preserved us. Yea, and from how many [perils] that we yet know not of; he, that knoweth all things, can best tell.

So that, when I seriously consider of things, I cannot but think that GOD hath a purpose to give that land, as an inheritance, to our nation. And great pity it were, that it should long lie in so desolate a state; considering it agreeth so well with the constitution of our bodies: [it] being both fertile; and so temperate, for heat and cold, as, in that respect, one can scarce[ly] distinguish New England from Old [England].

[THE RELIGION AND CUSTOMS OF THE INDIANS NEAR NEW PLYMOUTH.]

A few things I [have] thought meet to add hereunto, which I have observed amongst the Indians: both touching their religion, and sundry other customs amongst them.

And first, whereas myself and others* (in former Letters, which came to the press [*in London*] against my will and knowledge [*Winslow being then at New Plymouth*]) wrote [*see pp.* 407-494, 507], That the Indians about us, are a people without any religion, or knowledge of any God: therein I erred, though we could then gather no better.

The meaning of the word *Kiehtan*, I think hath reference to antiquity; for *Chise* is an old man; *Kiehchise*, a man that exceedeth in age. [E. W.]

For as they conceive of many Divine Powers: so of one, whom they call Kiehtan, to be the principal and maker of all the rest; and to be made by none. "He," say they, "created the heavens, earth, sea, and all creatures contained therein." Also that he made one man and one woman; of whom they, and we, and all mankind came: but how they became so far dispersed, that know they not.

At first, they say, there was no Sachem or King but Kiehtan; who dwelleth above in the heavens: whither all good men go when they die, to see their friends, and have their fill of all things. This his habitation lieth far westward in the heavens, they say.

Thither the bad men go also, and knock at his door: but he bids them, *Quatchet*, that is to say, "Walk abroad!, for there is no place for such." So that they wander in restless want and penury.

Never man saw this Kiehtan. Only old men tell them of him: and bid them tell their children; yea, to charge them, to teach their posterities the same, and lay the like charge on them. This Power they acknowledge to be good; and when they would obtain any great matter, [they] meet together, and cry unto him: and so likewise,

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* Winslow was therefore the principal Writer of what we have here printed at pp. 407-494.—E. A.

for plenty, victory, &c., [they] sing, dance, feast, give thanks; and hang up garlands and other things, in memory of the same.

Another Power they worship, whom they call Hobbamock; and to the northward of us, Hobbamoqui. This, as far as we can conceive, is the Devil. Him, they call upon, to cure their wounds and diseases. When they are curable: he persuades them, he sends the same for some conceived anger against them; but upon their calling on him, [he] can and doth help them. But when they are mortal, and not curable in nature: then he persuades them, Kiehtan is angry, and sends them, which none can cure. Insomuch as, in that respect only, they somewhat doubt whether he be simply good: and therefore, in sickness, never call upon him.

This Hobbamock appears in sundry forms unto them: as in the shape of a man, a deer, a fawn, an eagle, &c.; but, most ordinarily, [in that of] a snake. He appears not to all; but [to] the chiefest and most judicious amongst them: though all of them strive to attain to that hellish height of honour.

He appeareth most ordinary [*ordinarily to*], and is most conversant with, three sorts of people. One, I confess, I neither know by name, or Office, directly. Of these they have few; but esteem highly of them: and think that no weapon can kill them. Another, they call by the name of *Powah*; and the third, *Pinese.*

The Office and duty of the Powah [=*Powwow*=*Medicine Man*] is to be exercised principally in calling upon the Devil; and curing diseases of the sick or wounded. The common people join with him in the Exercise of Invocation: but do but only assent, or as we term it, say "Amen", to what he saith; yet sometime[s]

[they] break out into a short musical note with him. The Powah is eager, and free in speech; fierce in countenance; and joineth many antic [*grotesque*] and laborious gestures with the same, over the party diseased.

If the party be wounded, he will also seem to suck the wound: but if they be curable, as they say, he toucheth it not; but a *Skooke*, that is the snake, or *Wobsacuck*, that is the eagle, sitteth on his shoulder, and licks the same. This none sees but the Powah; who tells them, he doth it himself.

If the party be otherwise diseased; it is accounted sufficient if, in any shape, he but come into the house: [they] taking it for an undoubted sign of recovery.

And, as in former Ages, APOLLO had his temple at Delphos; and DIANA [hers] at Ephesus: so have I heard them call upon some; as if they had their residence in some certain places, or because they appeared in those forms, in the same.

In the Powah's speech, he promiseth to sacrifice many skins of beasts, kettles, hatchets, beads, knives, and other the best things they have, to the Fiend; if he will come to help the party diseased: but whether they perform it, I know not. The other practices I have seen; being necessarily called, at some times, to be with their sick: and have used the best arguments I could make them understand, against the same.

They have told me, I should see the Devil, at those times, come to the party; but I assured myself and them, of the contrary: which so proved. Yea, themselves have confessed, They never saw him when any of us were present.

In desperate and extraordinary travail in childbirth; when the party cannot be delivered by the ordinary means: they send for this Powah. Though, ordinarily,

their travail is not so extreme as in our parts of the world: they being of a more hardy nature. For, on the third day after childbirth, I have seen the mother with the infant, upon a small occasion, in cold weather, in a boat upon the sea.

Many sacrifices the Indians use; and, in some cases, kill children. It seemeth, they are various in their religious worship, in a little distance; and grow more and more cold in their worship to Kiehtan; saying, in [*within*] their memory, he was much more called upon.

The Nanohigganset [*Narragansetts*] exceed in their blind devotion; and have a great spacious House wherein only some few (that are, as we may term them, Priests) come. Thither, at certain known times, resort all their people; and offer almost all the riches they have to their gods, as kettles, skins, hatchets, beads, knives, &c.: all which are cast by the Priests into a great fire that they make in the midst of the house, and there consumed to ashes. To this offering, every man bringeth freely: and the more he is known to bring, hath the better esteem of all men. This, the other Indians about us, approve of as good; and wish their Sachems would appoint the like: and because the plague hath not reigned in Nanohigganset [*Narragansett*, now called *Rhode Island*] as at other places about them, they attribute to this custom there used.

The *Pineses* are men of great courage and wisdom. And to these also the Devil appeareth more familiarly than to others: and, as we conceive, maketh covenant with them, to preserve them from death by wounds with arrows, knives, hatchets, &c.; or, at least, both themselves, and especially the people, think themselves to be freed from the same. And although against their battles, all of them by painting, disfigure themselves;

yet are they known by their courage and boldness: by reason whereof, one of them will chase almost a hundred men, for they account it death for whomsoever [shall] stand in their way.

These are highly esteemed of all sorts of people; and are of the Sachem's Council: without whom, they will not war or undertake any weighty thing. In war, their Sachems, for their more safety, go in the midst of them. They are commonly men of greatest stature and strength; and such as will endure most hardness: and yet are more discreet, courteous, and humane in their carriages [*behaviour*] than any amongst them; scorning theft, lying, and the like base dealings; and stand as much upon their reputation as any men.

And to the end they may have stories of these [Pineses], they train up the most forward and likeliest boys, from their childhood, in great hardness; and make them abstain from dainty meat: observing divers orders prescribed, to the end, when they are of age, the Devil may to appear them. Causing to drink the juice of sentry [*centaury*] and other bitter herbs, till they cast [*vomit*]; which they must disgorge into the platter, and drink again, and again, till, at length, through extraordinary oppressing of nature, it will seem to be all blood. And this, the boys will do with eagerness, at the first; and so continue till, by reason of faintness, they can scarce[ly] stand on their legs: and then must go forth into the cold. Also they beat their shins with sticks; and cause them to run through bushes, stumps, and brambles: to make them hardy and acceptable to the Devil, that, in time, he may appear unto them.

Their Sachems cannot be *all* called Kings; but only some few of them: to whom the rest resort for

protection, and pay homage unto them. Neither may they war without their knowledge and approbation: yet to be commanded by the greater [ones], as occasion serveth. Of this [greater] sort, is MASSASSOWAT, our friend; and CONANACUS [*CANONICUS*], of Nanohiggenset [*Narragansett*], our supposed enemy.

Every Sachem taketh care for the widow and fatherless: also for such as are aged, and [in] any way maimed; if their friends be dead, or not able to provide for them.

A Sachem will not take any to wife but such a one as is equal to him in birth; otherwise, they say, their seed would, in time, become ignoble. And though they have many other wives: yet are they no other than concubines or servants; and yield a kind of obedience to the principal [one], who ordereth the family, and them in it. The like, the men observe also; and will adhere to the first [wife] during their lives, but put away the others at their pleasure.

This Government is successive; and not by choice. If the father die before the son, or daughter, be of age; then the child is committed to the protection and tuition of some one amongst them: who ruleth, in his stead, till he be of age; but when that is, I know not.

Every Sachem knoweth how far the bounds and limits of his own country extendeth; and that is his own proper inheritance. Out of that, if any of his men desire land to set their corn; he giveth them as much as they can use, and sets them their bounds. In [*within*] this circuit, whosoever hunteth, if they kill any venison, bringeth him his fee: which is the fore parts of the same, if it be killed on the land; but if [the deer] be killed in the water, then the skin thereof.

The great Sachems, or Kings, know their own bounds, or limits of land, as well as the rest.

All travellers, or strangers, for the most part, lodge at the Sachem's. When they come they tell them, how long they will stay; and to what place they go: during which time, they receive entertainment according to their persons; but want not.

Once a year the Pineses use [*are accustomed*] to provoke the people to bestow much corn on the Sachem. To that end, they appoint a certain time and place, near the Sachem's dwelling; where the people bring many baskets of corn, and make a great stack thereof. There, the Pineses stand ready to give thanks to the people, on the Sachem's behalf: and, after, acquainteth the Sachem therewith; who fetcheth the same, and is no less thankful, bestowing many gifts on them.

When any are visited with sickness, their friends resort unto them for their comfort; and continue with them oft times till their death, or recovery. If they die, they stay a certain time, to mourn for them. Night and morning, they perform this duty, many days after the burial, in a most doleful manner; insomuch as though it be ordinary [*commonplace*], and the note [not] musical which they take one from another and all together: yet it will draw tears from their eyes; and almost from ours also. But if they recover, then because their sickness was chargeable; they send corn and other gifts unto them, at a certain appointed time; whereat they feast and dance, which they call *Commoco.*

When they bury the dead; they sew up the corpse in a mat, and so put it in the earth. If the party be a Sachem; they cover him with many curious mats, and bury all his riches with him, and inclose the grave with a pale [*palisade*]. If it be a child, the father will also put his own most special jewels and ornaments in the

earth with it: [and] also will cut his hair, and disfigure himself very much, in token of sorrow. If it be the man or woman of the house, they will pull down the mats, and leave the frame standing, and bury them in or near the same; and either remove their dwelling, or give over housekeeping.

The men imploy themselves wholly in hunting and other exercises of the bow; except at some times they take some pains in fishing.

The women live a most slavish life. They carry all their [*the men's*] burdens, set and dress their corn, gather it in, seek out for much of their food, beat and make ready the corn to eat, and have all [the] household care lying upon them.

The younger sort reverence the elder; and do all mean offices whilst they are together: [even] although they be strangers [to each other].

Boys and girls may not wear their hair like men and women; but are distinguished thereby.

A man is not accounted a man till he do some notable act, or shew forth such courage and resolution as becometh his place. The men take much tobacco: but for boys so to do, they account it odious.

All their names are significant and variable: for when they come to the state of men and women, they alter them; according to their deeds and dispositions.

When a maid is taken in marriage, she first cutteth her hair; and, after, weareth a covering on her head till her hair be grown out.

The women are diversely disposed. Some [are] as modest as they will scarce[ly] talk one to another in the company of men; being very chaste also: yet other some [are] light [*inconstant*], lascivious, and wanton.

If a woman have a bad husband, or cannot affect

[*have no affection for*] him; and there be war or opposition between that, and any other, people: she will run away from him to the contrary party, and there live; where they never come unwelcome, for where are most women, there is greatest plenty. . . .

For adultery, the husband will beat his wife; and put her away, if he please. . . .

In matters of unjust and dishonest dealing, the Sachem examineth and punisheth the same. In cases of thefts: for the first offence, he is disgracefully rebuked; for the second, he is beaten by the Sachem, with a cudgel on the back; for the third, he is beaten with many strokes, and hath his nose slit upward, that thereby all men may both know and shun him. If any man kill another; he must likewise for the same.

The Sachem not only passeth the sentence upon malefactors; but executeth the same with his own hands, if the party be then present. If not, [he] sendeth his own knife, in [a] case of death, in the hands of others, to perform the same. But if the offender be to receive other punishment; he will not receive the same, but from the Sachem himself: before whom, being naked, he kneeleth, and will not offer to run away though he beat him never so much; it being a greater disparagement for a man to cry during the time of his correction, than is his offence and punishment.

As for their apparel, they wear breeches [*leggings*] and stockings in one, like some Irish; which is made of deer skins; and have shoes [*mocassins*] of the same leather. They wear also a deer skin loose about them, like a cloak; which they will turn to the weather [*windward*] side. In this habit [*dress*] they travel: but when they are at home, or come to their journey's end, presently [*immediately*] they pull off their breeches, stockings

and shoes; wring out the water if they be wet, and dry them, and rub or chafe the same. Though these be off; yet have they another small garment that covereth them. The men wear also, when they go abroad in cold weather, an otter, or fox, skin on their right arm; but only their bracer [*wrist-guard*] on the left.

Women, and all of that sex, wear strings [of beads] about their legs: which the men never do.

The people are very ingenious and observative. They keep account of time by the moon, and [by] winters or summers. They know divers of the stars by name. In particular, they know the North Star; and call it *Maske*, which is to say "The Bear." Also they have many names for the winds. They will guess very well at the wind and weather beforehand, by observations in the heavens. They report also, That some of them can cause the wind to blow in what part they list, [and] can raise storms and tempests. Which they usually do, when they intend the death or destruction of other people; that, by reason of the unseasonable weather, they may take advantage of their enemies in their houses. At such times, they perform their greatest exploits: and, in such seasons, when they are at enmity with any, they keep more careful watch than at other times.

As for the language, it is very copious, large, and difficult. As yet [*i.e. to the* 10*th September* 1623], we cannot attain to any great measure thereof: but can understand them, and explain ourselves to their understanding; by the help of those that daily converse with us. And though there be [a] difference, in a hundred miles distance of place, both in language and manners: yet [it is] not so much, but that they very well understand each other.

And thus much of their lives and manners.

Instead of records and chronicles, they take this course. Where any remarkable act is done: in memory of it, either in the place or by some pathway near adjoining, they make a round hole in the ground, about a foot deep and as much over: which, when others, passing by, behold, they enquire the cause and occasion of the same; which, being once known, they are careful to acquaint all men, as occasion serveth, therewith. And lest such holes should be filled, or grown up [with herbage], by any accident; as men pass by, they will oft renew the same. By which means, many things of great antiquity are fresh in memory. So that, as a man travelleth, if he can understand his guide, his journey will be the less tedious, by reason of the many historical discourses [that] will be related to him.

[A DESCRIPTION OF NEW ENGLAND; AND OF THOSE WHO SHOULD GO THERE.]

In all this, it may be said, I have neither praised nor dispraised the country: and since I [have] lived so long therein, my judgement thereof will give no less satisfaction to them that know me, than the Relation of our proceedings.

To which I answer, That as in [the] one, so of the other; I will speak as sparingly as I can: yet [I] will make known what I conceive thereof.

And, first, for that continent on which we are, called New England. Although it hath ever been conceived, by the English, to be a part of that main land adjoining to Virginia: yet, by [the] relation of the Indians, it should appear to be otherwise. For they affirm confidently, That it is an island: and that, either the Dutch or [the] French, pass through [*i.e. along the Hudson river*] from sea to sea [*the Atlantic to the*

river St Lawrence] between us and Virginia; and drive a great trade in the same. The name of that inlet of the sea, they call *Mohegon*; which I take to be the same [as that] which we call Hudson's river: up which, Master [HENRY] HUDSON went many leagues; and for want of means, as I hear, left it undiscovered.

For confirmation of this their opinion, [there] is thus much. Though Virginia be not above 150 leagues [= 450 *miles*] from us: yet they never heard of POWHATAN, or knew that any English were planted in his country, save only by us, and TISQUANTUM who went in an English ship thither. And therefore it is the more probable; because the water is not passable for them, who are [yet] very adventurous in their boats.

Then for the temperature of the air, in almost three years' experience [*9th November* 1620—10*th September* 1623], I can scarce[ly] distinguish New England from Old England, in respect of heat and cold, frost, snow, rain, winds, &c. Some object, because our Plantation lieth in the latitude of 42° [North]; it must needs be much hotter. I confess I cannot give the reason of the contrary: only experience teacheth us, That if it do exceed England, it is [by] so little as must require better judgements to discern it. And for the winter; I rather think, if there be [any] difference, it is both sharper and longer in New England than [in] Old: and yet the want of those comforts in the one, which I have enjoyed in the other, may deceive my judgement also. But, in my best observation, comparing our own condition with the Relations of other parts of America; I cannot conceive of any to agree better with the constitution of the English: not being oppressed with extremity of heat, nor nipped with biting cold; by which means, blessed be GOD, we enjoy

our health, notwithstanding those difficulties we have undergone, in such a measure as would have been admired [*wondered at*], if we had lived in England, with the like means.

The day is two hours longer than here, when it is at the shortest: and as much shorter there, when it is at the longest.

The soil is variable: in some places, mould; in some, clay; [and] others, a mixed sand, &c. The chiefest grain is the Indian Mays [*maize*] or Guinea wheat [, *also called Turkey wheat*].

The seed time beginneth in the midst of April, and continueth good till the midst of May. Our harvest beginneth with September. This corn increaseth in great measure; but is inferior, in quantity, to the same in Virginia: the reason, I conceive, is because Virginia is far hotter than it is with us; it requiring great heat to ripen.

But whereas it is objected against New England, That corn will not there grow except the ground be manured with fish: I answer, That where men set [corn] with fish [*i.e. alewives*], as with us, it is more easy so to do: than to clear ground and set without [fish] some five or six years; and so begin anew [*by clearing fresh ground*]; as in Virginia, and elsewhere.

Not but that, in some places, where they [*i.e. the fish = alewives*] cannot be taken with ease, in such abundance, the Indians set four years together without [fish]; and have as good corn, or better, than we have that set with them: though indeed, I think, if we had cattle to till the ground, it would be more profitable, and better agreeable to the soil, to sow wheat, rye, barley, pease, and oats, than to set mays, which our Indians called *Ewachim*. For we have had experience

that they [*wheat, rye, &c.*] like and thrive well [in the ground]: and the other [*maize*] will not be procured without good labour and diligence; especially at seed time, when it must also be watched by night, to keep the wolves from the fish till it be rotten, which will be in fourteen days; yet men agreeing together, and taking their turns, it is not much.

Much might be spoken of the benefit that may come to such as shall here plant, by trade [*barter*] with the Indians for furs; if men take a right course for obtaining the same. For I dare presume, upon that small experience I have had, to affirm, that the English, Dutch, and French return yearly many thousands [of] pounds [of] profits by trade only, from that island [*see page* 593] on which we are seated.

Tobacco may be there planted: but not with that profit as in some other places. Neither were it profitable there to follow it, though the increase were equal; because fish is a better and richer commodity, and more necessary: which may be, and are there, had in as great abundance as in any other part of the world. Witness the West Country Merchants of England [*i.e. of Devonshire and Cornwall*]; which return incredible gains yearly from thence. And if they can so do, which here buy their salt at a great charge, and transport more company to make their voyage than will [*is necessary to*] sail their ships: what may the Planters expect, when once they are seated, and make the most of their salt there, and imploy themselves at least eight months in fishing? whereas the others fish but four, and have their ship lying dead [*idle*] in the harbour all the time: whereas such shipping as belong to [the] Plantations, may take freight [outwards] of passengers

or cattle thither; and have their lading provided [ready] against they come.

I confess [that] we have come so far short of the means to raise such returns, as, with great difficulty, we have preserved our lives: insomuch as when I look back upon our condition, and [our] weak means to preserve the same, I rather admire [*wonder*] at GOD's mercy and Providence in our preservation, than that no greater things have been effected by us. But though our beginning hath been thus raw [*inexperienced*], small, and difficult; as thou hast seen: yet the same GOD, that hath hitherto led us through the former, I hope will raise means to accomplish the latter. Not that we altogether, or principally, propound profit to be the main end of that we have undertaken; but the glory of GOD, and the honour of our country, in the inlarging of His Majesty's dominions. Yet wanting outward means to set things in that forwardness we desire, and to further the latter by the former; I thought meet to offer both to consideration: hoping that where religion and profit jump together, which is rare, in so honourable an action, it will encourage every honest man, either in person or purse, to set forward the same; or, at least wise, to commend the welfare thereof, in his daily prayers, to the blessing of the blessed GOD.

I will not again speak of the abundance of fowl [*i.e. wild fowl*], store of venison, and variety of fish; which might incourage many to go in their persons. Only I advise all such before hand to consider, That as they hear of countries that abound with the good creatures of GOD; so means must be used for the taking of everyone in his kind: and therefore not only to content themselves that there is sufficient; but

to foresee how they shall be able to obtain the same. Otherwise, as he that walketh London streets, though he be in the midst of plenty; yet if he want means, is not the better but hath rather his sorrow [is] increased by the sight of that he wanteth, and cannot enjoy. So also there, if thou want art [*skill*] and other necessaries thereunto belonging; thou mayest see that thou wantest and thy heart desireth, and yet be never the better for the same. Therefore, if thou see thine own insufficiency of thyself; then join to some others, where thou mayest in some measure enjoy the same: otherwise assure thyself, thou art better where thou art!

Some there be that, thinking altogether of their present wants [that] they enjoy [*suffer*] here, and not dreaming of any there, through indiscretion, plunge themselves into a deeper sea of misery. As for example, it may be here [that] rent and firing are so chargeable as, without great difficulty, a man cannot accomplish the same: never considering that, as he shall have no rent to pay, so he must build his house before he have it; and peradventure may, with more ease, pay for his fuel here, than cut and fetch it home (, if he have not cattle to draw it,) there; though there is no scarcity, but rather too great plenty [of it].

I write not these things to dissuade any that shall seriously, upon due examination, set for themselves to further the glory of GOD and the honour of our country in so worthy an enterprise: but rather to discourage such as, with too great lightness, undertake such courses. Who peradventure strain themselves and their friends for their passage thither; and are no sooner there than, seeing their foolish imagination made void, are at their wit's end: and would give ten times

so much for their return, if they could procure it; and out of such discontented passions and humours, spare not to lay that imputation upon the country and others, which themselves deserve.

As for example, I have heard some complain of others, for their large [*ample*] reports of New England: and yet because they must drink water, and want many delicates they here enjoyed, could presently here return with their mouths full of clamours. And can any be so simple, as to conceive that the fountains should stream forth wine or beer; or the woods and rivers be like butchers' shops, and fishmongers' stalls, where they might have things taken to their hands? If thou canst not live without such things; and hast no means to procure the one, and wilt not take pains for the other; nor hast ability [*money*] to employ others for thee; rest where thou art! For as a proud heart, a dainty tooth, a beggar's purse, and an idle hand be here intollerable: so that person that hath these qualities there, is much more abominable.

If, therefore, GOD hath given thee a heart to undertake such courses, upon such grounds as bear thee out in all difficulties, viz. his glory as a principal [motive]; and all other outward good things, but as accessories; which peradventure thou shalt enjoy, and it may be not: then thou wilt, with true comfort and thankfulness, receive the least of his mercies; whereas, on the contrary, men deprive themselves of much happiness, being senseless of greater blessings; and, through prejudice, smother up the love and bounty of GOD—whose name be ever glorified in us, and by us, now and evermore. Amen.

FINIS.

A brief Relation of a credible Intelligence of the present estate of Virginia.

AT the earnest entreaty of some of my much respected friends; I have added to the former Discourse, a Relation of such things as were credibly reported at Plymouth in New England, in September [1623] last past, concerning the present estate of Virginia.

And because men may doubt, how we should have intelligence of these Affairs, [it] being we are so far distant; I will therefore satisfy the doubtful therein.

Captain Francis West, being in New England, about the latter end of May [1623] past; sailed from thence, to Virginia, and returned in August. In September, the same ship and company, being discharged by him at Damarin's Cove [*The Damariscove islands, off the coast of Maine*], came to New Plymouth: where, upon our earnest inquiry after the state of Virginia, since that bloody slaughter committed by the Indians upon our friends and countrymen [on the 22nd March 1622]; the whole ship's company agreed in this, viz.:

That, upon all occasions, they chased the Indians to and fro; insomuch as they sued daily unto the English for peace: who, for the present, would not admit of any. That Sir George Yeardley, &c. was, at that present, employed upon service against them. That, amongst many others, Opechancanough, the chief

Emperor, was supposed to be slain. His son also was killed at the same time.

And though, by reason of these forenamed broils, in the fore part of the year [1623], the English had undergone great want of food: yet, through GOD's mercy, there never was more show of plenty; having as much, and as good, corn on the ground as ever they had. Neither were the hopes of their tobacco crop inferior to that of their corn. So that the Planters were never more full of encouragement.

Which I pray GOD long to continue; and so to direct both them and us, as his glory may be the principal aim and end of all our actions: and that for his mercy's sake. Amen.

A Postcript.

IF any man desire a more ample Relation of the state of this country before such time as this present Relation taketh place; I refer them to the two former printed books:

The one published by the President and Council for New England [*A brief Relation of the Discovery and Plantation of New England,* 1607 *to* 1622. London, 1622, 4], and

The other gathered by the inhabitants of this present Plantation at Plymouth in New England [*i.e. the* Relation, or Journal, *reprinted at pp.* 395-505].

Both which books are to be sold by John Bellamy, at his shop, at the *Three golden Lions,* in Cornhill, near the Royal Exchange.

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